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H.S. Ananthanarayana	<i>Emeneau's Contribution to Indic Studies</i> . . . . .	1
Bh. Krishnamurti	<i>Emeneau's Contribution to Comparative Phonology and Morphology of Dravidian</i> . . . . .	19
K. Nagamma Reddy	<i>Dravidian Phonology: Contribution of Emeneau</i> . . .	37
P.S. Subrahmanyam	<i>Historical Study of Toda Morphology (Continuation of Emeneau's Work)</i> . . . . .	71
V.I. Subramoniam	<i>The Etymological Dictionary by Burrow / Emeneau</i> . .	81
B. Gopinathan Nair	<i>A Dravidian Etymological Dictionary and its Impact on Comparative Dravidian Studies</i> . . . . .	89
N.B. Reddy	<i>Emeneau's Contribution to Folklore / Tribal Studies</i> .	107
B.R. Reddy	<i>Convergence in Central India: Explorations into a Micro-linguistic Area</i> . . .	121
R. Balakrishnan	<i>A Note on Nilgiri Tribes and Professor Emeneau</i> .	149
S.K. Sen	<i>Formation of Personal Names in Indo-European</i> .	153
H.F. Schiffman	<i>Deverbal Nominal Derivation in Tamil</i> . . . . .	159
M.S. Govindasamy	<i>A Brief Historical Study of Sri Ramanujar</i> . . . .	167
K. Viswanatham	<i>The Concept of Inter-language, Inter-dialect and Inter-idiolect</i> . . .	183

### Notes & Discussions

C.A. Winters	<i>The Dravidian Origin of the Word for Horse</i> . . .	193
R. Kothandaraman	<i>Relative Clause in Tamil</i> . . . . .	203
S. Zacharia	<i>Jewish Malayalam Folk Songs</i> . . . . .	209

### Reviews

G.G. Nair	<i>Interpretation of Paninian Treatment of Syntax. Karake. (J.D. Singh)</i> .	223
V.R. Jagannathan	<i>The Indo Aryan Languages (G. Cardona &amp; D. Jain)</i> .	227

### Report

B.R. Reddy & K. Nagamma Reddy	<i>A Bibliography of M.B. Emeneau</i> . . . . .	229
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# INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF DRAVIDIAN LINGUISTICS

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The manuscripts of articles should be submitted in *triplicate*, clearly typed on one side only, double space with wide margins, **preferably on floppy or through e-mail** ([dravling@md5.vsnl.net.in](mailto:dravling@md5.vsnl.net.in)). Language data should be underlined with meanings in inverted commas. The systems of footnotes and listing of bibliography will be those adopted in *Language*. The article, if theoretically important, will be treated as in *Current Anthropology* and published with comments and replies. Fifty offprints will be issued free of cost to the author(s). Classical papers which are out-of-print will also be republished if there is a demand.



Dr. B. Ramakrishna Reddy

21/12/05

## PROF. M.B. EMENEAU'S CONTRIBUTION TO INDIC STUDIES

H.S. ANANTHANARAYANA  
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Professor Murray Barnson Emeneau, who is presently a Professor Emeritus of Sanskrit and General Linguistics at the University of California, Berkeley, is a distinguished authority in the field of Indic studies and an internationally known Dravidian scholar. He was born on February 28, 1904 in Lunenburg, Nova Scotia, Canada. He received a B.A. from Dalhousie University, Halifax in 1923 and another from Oxford as Rhodes scholar in 1926. He studied Sanskrit, Latin, and Greek for his bachelor's degree under eminent scholars like Franklin Edgerton and Edgar Sturtevant. He took his M.A. from Oxford in 1931 and received Ph.D. from Yale University for editing a Sanskrit work, *Vetālapañcaviṃśati*. From 1931 to 1935 he studied Linguistics and Anthropology under Edward Sapir, one of the *trimunis* of American Descriptive Linguistics.

Prof. Emeneau taught Latin (1926 to 1931) and Anthropology (1938-39) at Yale University. Then he moved on to the University of California, Berkeley where he served as Asst. Professor of Sanskrit and General Linguistics, from 1940-46. In 1946, he was made a full Professor and became Chairman of the Department of Linguistics in 1953 and from 1959 Chairman of the Department of Classics. He taught at the University of California, Berkeley from 1940 to 1971 and later was made Professor Emeritus of Sanskrit and General Linguistics. He was elected to the office of the President, Linguistics Society of America for the year 1949 and had served for several years as General Editor of the *Journal of American Oriental Society*.

Prof. Emeneau is famous for the breadth of his interest which includes Ethnography, Descriptive and Historical Linguistics, Sanskrit,

\* The first ten articles in this volume comprise Prof. M.B. Emeneau Centenary Lectures delivered at the 32nd A.I.C.D.L. held at Warangal, Andhra Pradesh from 10-12 June 2004. We are thankful to Dr. B. Ramakrishna Reddy and Dr. K. Nagamma Reddy for convening this symposium, collecting the articles and compiling a bibliography of Emeneau.



Comparative Indo-European, and Dravidian. Within Indology, he has consistently pursued a vision of the integrated study of culture, language, and verbal art. He has written that his background led him to take a holistic view of India in which everything was of interest, and was fitted so far as possible into one large picture.

Although Prof. Emeneau started out as a Sanskritist, he is better known today as the greatest living Dravidologist and will be always remembered for his monumental work. Dravidian Etymological Dictionary, which was completed in collaboration with the late Professor Thomas Burrow of Oxford, England. Since many other scholars here would be speaking on various aspects of Emeneau's contribution, both theoretical and applicational, I will be restricting myself to his works in the field of Indic Studies.

Prof. Emeneau's contributions may be organized under three heads, viz., literary, etymological, and linguistic. To begin with, he has edited with English translation two Sanskrit works; has prepared a catalogue of printed Indic texts and translations in American libraries; has assisted his teacher in bringing out Vedic Variants, Vol. III and has reworked the morphophonemic section in Whitney's Sanskrit grammar. We will present some details about each one of these, pointing out its usefulness to the scholarly world.

1. Jambhaladatta's version of the *Vetālapañcavimśati* which he had submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of Yale University for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in 1931 was brought out in 1934 as volume 4 in the American Oriental Series. Five versions of the *Vetālapañcavimśati* are recorded by the historians of Sanskrit literature and three versions were already available to Emeneau. In this edition of Jambhaladatta's version, we are provided with a critical Sanskrit text in translation, an introduction, and English translation. Account has also been taken in the notes to the translation of the more important differences of detail as they are represented in Somadeva, Kṣēendra and Sivadāsa. The Kashmirian versions have essentially the same subject matter; the latter is shorter and balder than the former and omits many incidents which have only minor value in the development of the stories. For the critical edition of Jambhaladatta's version, Prof. Emeneau utilized one manuscript in Nepālī recension and three in Bengali recension. Whereas the three earlier versions present only 24 stories apart from the frame-story and consequently include the conclusion of the frame-story as the 25th of the series, Emeneau's text gives 25 stories



as told by the Vetāla, apart from the frame-story. Further, the details of the stories in Jambhaladatta differ widely from those of all the other versions.

Jambhaladatta's is the only version that is written almost entirely in prose. The Kashmirian versions are in verse, mostly *ślokas*. The other two are in prose with large additions of verses, partly narrative, but mostly of the *kāvya* type. Jambhaladatta's prose is strictly narrative and as such makes little claim to ornateness and is at times monotonously bald. The language of the text is on the whole good Sanskrit. Jambhaladatta shows a good knowledge of the grammars by his use of several rare verbal forms (e.g. *adīdapat*, *ajījivat*, *ajijñapat*, *apaptat*). A number of new words is found (e.g. *lukkāyitaḥ* from Pkt.stem *lukk-* 'to be hidden', *cāhayati* from the Pkt.stem *cāh-* 'to desire', *curā* 'theft', *duḥsādhu* 'doorkeeper', *dhāvaka* 'runner', *śāstika* 'bouncer'). Jambhaladatta makes a frequent use of *eka* at the end of compounds (e.g. *śataika*, *putraika*, *kumāraika*, *puruṣaika*).

*Vetāla* is translated by Emeneau as 'goblin' as against earlier 'vampire', since *vetāla* has no blood-sucking implications of vampire. Similarly, *rākṣasa* is translated here by 'ogre'. In sum, Emeneau's edition is a good specimen in textual criticism and serves as a model for those preparing critical edition of a text.

2. At the time when Franklin Edgerton was preparing for press Vedic variants Vol. III in 1934, he had under him young Emeneau as a research fellow in Sanskrit. Emeneau collaborated with his teacher on this work. The work which is in three volumes presents a grammatical and stylistic study of the entire mass of the variant readings in the repeated *mantras* of the Vedic tradition as revealed primarily by Maurice Bloomfield's Vedic Concordance. As to the extent, the variations range all the way from change of a single letter in a single word to radical rearrangements of the whole text. They may or may not be accompanied by shift of meaning, great or slight.

Except for a preliminary and incomplete collection of materials, Bloomfield's relation to volume-III does not go beyond the formulation of the original project. Prof. Edgerton had the benefit of active assistance from his pupil Dr. M.B. Emeneau who supplemented Bloomfield's lists of materials by extensive additions of his own collectanea, and prepared a preliminary draft of the entire book. Prof. Edgerton records that the volume benefited greatly by his pupil's industry and acumen.



The first volume dealing with the verb and the second volume dealing with phonetics offered opportunity for many interesting observations concerning grammar and linguistic psychology. This third volume "aims to include all variations in the inflected forms of nouns, pronouns, and adjectives in the repeated *mantras* of the Veda". The material divides itself into Part I - formal variants, and Part II - syntactic and stylistic variants. Under formal variants (chapter II-X) are included all variations between what are intended as equivalent forms for the same case, number, and gender. Under syntactic and stylistic variance (chapters XI-XXIX) are included the rest, that is, variations in case, number and gender. The latter are much more numerous than the former.

The study of the formal variants is a contribution to morphology of Sanskrit grammar and the study of the other variants illumines the uses of cases. The variants are interesting because "they illumine the ways in which the whole stock of *mantra* material was reworked in the course of the centuries". Case usages are not merely matters of syntax but are influenced by the particular words used, by the literary form, and by the times.

Reviewing this volume, Prof. R.L. Turner noted that it is "so extensive in its material, so well arranged in its presentation and so meticulous in its accuracy". The first part, he adds, is an addition to the descriptive grammar of Vedic and occasionally corrects the third volume of the *Altindische Grammatik*. The syntactic variants in the second part, he says, have greater bearing on the history of linguistic development. They throw much light on the history of a language which in its spoken forms was progressively decreasing the number and the clear distinction of its cases; and which has resulted in some modern languages practically devoid of nominal inflection at all.

3. Prof. Emeneau compiled "A Union list of printed Indic texts and translations in American libraries" which was issued in 1935 by American Oriental Society as its volume no. 7. In this list, Emeneau lists all the texts available up to 1932 and some in 1933-34 in a subject-wise index with full reference to the library numbers. The list includes all books in Sanskrit, Pali, Prakrit and Apabramṣa and most of the books in the older stages of the vernaculars including translations of texts. The major sections include Veda, Epic, *Purāṇa*, *Kāvya*, story literature, drama, poetics, music and dancing, grammar, lexicon, prosody, *Dharmaśāstra* and *smṛti*, philosophy and religion, mathematics, astronomy and astrology, architecture, iconography, *arthaśāstra*



and *nītiśāstras*, *ratnaśāstra*, divination, medicine, veterinary science, arts amatoria and miscellaneous Sanskrit works; Buddhist and Jain texts and finally vernacular texts covering 18 languages. This is followed by a list of the more important serial publication of texts, and index of authors, of titles and miscellaneous index. Altogether 4491 publications are listed in this union catalogue.

Prof. S.M. Katre, its reviewer, has this to say : "Mr. Emeneau has rendered the greatest service to Indic studies in America by compiling at great trouble to himself this splendid union list thereby saving other American Indologists from unnecessary correspondence and the trouble to locate definite texts in the various scattered libraries in the U.S.". He adds further: "its usefulness to Indian scholars must also be mentioned because with the exception of the great provincial centres, none of the libraries contain bibliographical information of this kind, and the British Museum catalogues are not within the means of the average scholar or the average libraries."

4. "Sanskrit Sandhi and Exercises" is a small booklet of 28 pages which presents the morphophonemics of Sanskrit in a clearly understandable Bloomfieldian formulae. It is interesting to note here how then a young Emeneau came to work out this section of Sanskrit grammar. Leonard Bloomfield used to teach in the Linguistic Institutes courses in beginning Sanskrit which included a selection of Sandhi rules from Whitney's chapter III. W.D. Whitney had arranged Pāṇini's grammar for western use and employed large and small print, keeping in view the users - small print being intended for the beginners. The device however seemed to break down in chapter III, 'Rules of Euphonic Combination'. At the Linguistic Institute of 1938, Bloomfield handed over the class and the notes he had prepared for his own use to Prof. Emeneau. With his permission, Emeneau used and reworked these notes. After experimenting in several successive classes, it was found worthwhile to present them in the printed form in which it is available now. Emeneau also added 27 exercises to give the student that familiarity with the rules that will fix them firmly with him. It is thought that even a student of descriptive grammar could be given these exercises to work, without his knowing or learning anymore Sanskrit than is provided in the pamphlet. The exercises do not proceed in the usual direction of those set e.g. by Nida, but to reconstruct from Pāṇini's solutions the complicated data from which he started should give students practice in handling complicated data with exactness and a feeling for the techniques of morphological analysis.



Pāṇini set up for every polyallomorphic morpheme one of the allomorphs as a basic form and established a very complicated set of morphophonemic statements to describe the relations between the basic allomorph and all allomorphs related to them. These morphophonemic statements are the Sandhi rules of Whitney's chapter III and are stated in terms of process. Such statement is harmless if the student understands that it is descriptive process that is involved, and not historical. Consequently, Whitney's phraseology was slightly modified in the Sandhi rules given here. The influence of Bloomfield, a great admirer of Pāṇini, may be seen in the more Pāṇinian and less Whitney-like overall arrangement and phrasing of the rules.

The rules (numbering 73) do not give all the Sandhi statements that are made by Pāṇini and Whitney. However, in general, all other occurring combinations of phonemes than those dealt within the rules remain unchanged, except for special statements that are given in the morphology rather than in the Sandhi rules.

Now coming to Emeneau's scholarly articles, it is not intended to discuss here all of them since several were not available in the libraries. However, the papers discussed here give ample evidence to the magnitude and importance of Emeneau's contribution to Indic studies.

## Literary

(a) Historians of Sanskrit literature are at variance on the relation between Kālidāsa's play on Śakuntalā and the Śakuntalā episode in the Mahābhārata. Some have held that the epic story is the source, much altered, for the play. Others have found Kālidāsa's source in Padmapurāṇa. In his article, 'Kālidāsa's Śakuntalā and the Mahābhārata', Prof. Emeneau has brought out one parallelism which provides very specific evidence of Kālidāsa's dependence on the epic. It has been unfortunately neglected universally. This parallelism is between Mahābhārata I.68 verses 52-53, 55-57, 60 and Śakuntalā VII. 17 and 19. In Kālidāsa's verse 17 the dirt of the child's body which gets on to the father is that of verse 52 of the epic passage. In verse 19 the 'stranger's family' (*Kasyā'pi kula* - 'of the someone or other's family') clearly harks back to the child in another village (*grāmāntara*-) of the epic verse 60. There can be no doubt that Kālidāsa's two verses depend on the six in the epic, and that, radically transformed as they are, their debt should be acknowledged.



Besides this clear demonstration of borrowing, we may adduce to another small coincidence of a highly specific nature which is due to borrowing. In the epic, Kaṇva on his return to the hermitage recognized by the divine wisdom won by austerity, that in his absence Śakuntalā had been married to king Duṣyanta by the *gāndharva* rite of mutual consent, and made known to her his views in a long speech beginning Mbh.I.67.25, 26ab. Kālidāsa makes such of the point in his first act: in verse 21 and the prose immediately preceding it, the king poses the question of Śakuntalā's lineage, the scene ending with verse 25 enlightens him about her Rājarsi father.

Emeneau points out that the first convergence cannot be coincidence considering the chronological priority of our critically established Mahābhārata text to Kālidāsa. It must be concluded that Kālidāsa has borrowed from the Mahābhārata. He adds that once this is established, the second instance is to be interpreted in the same way. Thus, he concludes that Kālidāsa used the Śakuntalā story in the Mahābhārata as the basis for this play.

(b) In another article, Kṣemendra as *kavi*, Prof. Emeneau presents Kṣemendra's and Somadeva's versions of particular passages side by side to point out their agreements where their actual words are peculiar enough to be significant. Such agreements, he says, show that the Bṛhatkathā version which they both used also contained either these features or something very close to them. This selection of passages illustrates, according to Emeneau, that Kṣemendra at times found in his original (i.e., Bṛhatkathā) the model, or at least the suggestion, for the figures which he elaborated. In general, it is clear that his method of handling the kāvyā portions of the work was the direct opposite of that which he adopted in the more strictly narrative portions. In the latter, he condensed; in the former, he expanded. The large number of ornamental passages for which Somadeva has no equivalent shows further that Kṣemendra's chief interest was kāvyā, while Somadeva's was narrative.

(c) It is frequently found that poets include their name either overtly or hidden in their composition. F.W. Thomas who edited *Kavīndravacasamuccaya* ascribes the authorship of a verse to a woman poet called Jaghanacapalā. The word as a common noun has two meanings. It denotes 'a libidinous woman'. It is also the name of a variety of Āryā metre. Emeneau in his article, 'Signed verses by Sanskrit poets', examined the various occurrences of this metre and concludes that it was composed first



to illustrate the metrical type, the Jaghanacapalā Āryā, and later reused punningly in the meaning 'a libidinous woman'. No woman of good character would have a name of this kind. Further the lateness of the ascription (17th century), Emeneau thinks is sufficient indication that the poetess is a figment of the anthologist's imagination<sup>1</sup>. In one or two other instances also, Emeneau shows how the innocent seeming ascriptions are often contradictorily treated in the series of anthologies. However, in the two verses found in Bāṇa's *Caṇḍisatakā*, he argues that the poet who inserted his name by means of puns is sure beyond any shadow of doubt.<sup>2</sup> He further goes on to identify 'trikavi' in the verse to mean Uśanas (= Śukra, kavinām uśanā kavīḥ - Gīta 10.37), Vālimūki and Vyāsa; And these are the three kavis to whom Bāṇa does obeisance.

## Etymological

(i) Manfred Mayrhofer's Old Indo-Aryan etymological dictionary has a single entry for *daṇḍa* under which he gives arguments that have been adduced for borrowing into Sanskrit from Dravidian and pronounces that the word offers an etymological problem. Prof. Emeneau, who reviewed the dictionary thinks, however, in his article on "Some Indian etymologies", that there are in Dravidian at least three sets of etyma. In one set consisting of such Dravidian forms as Ta., Ma. *taṇṭu*, Ka. *daṇḍa*, Tu. *daṇḍa*, *daṇṭe* with meanings 'stick, staff', he thinks that in form and meaning they are only borrowings from Sanskrit. Similarly, all the words recorded in Dravidian dictionaries with the meanings, 'sceptre, power, control, punishment' will be treated as only borrowings from Sanskrit. In the meaning, 'stalk, stem', Skt. *daṇḍa* is found in only one occurrence, that in the compound *kadalīdaṇḍa* in Mbh. 2.63.4. The Dravidian group of forms, Ta., Ma. *taṇṭu* 'stalk, stem', ka. *daṇṭu*, *daṇḍa* 'stalk', Tu. *daṇṭu*, Te. *daṇṭu* 'the stalk of great millet' are geographically widely spread and the variations both in form and meaning make it highly probable that there is no question of borrowing from Skt. *daṇḍa* 'stalk'. The uncertainly early attestation of this Sanskrit word makes it possible that it is borrowed from Dravidian though there may be conver-

1. durdivase'sitapakṣe duḥsaṃcārāsu nagaravithīṣu

patyau videśayāte paraṃ sukhaṃ jaghanacapalāyāḥ

'When the city streets are difficult to move about in on a rainy day, in the dark half of the month, and her husband has gone to a foreign country, there is great happiness for a libidinous woman.'

2. kṣipto bāṇaḥ kṛtas te trikavinatitāto nirvalir madhyadeśaḥ means in reference to the poet - Bāṇa having thrown himself down (kṣipto), became (kṛtas) stretched out in obeisance to the three poets (trikavinatitāto).



gence here, starting on the Sanskrit side from the 'stick' meanings. There is a third entry in DED which contain the following items: Ta. *taṭi* 'stick, staff, rod, cane, club, cudgel', Ma. *taṭi* 'stick, staff', Ka. *taḍi* 'stick, staff, cudgel', *daḍi*, *daṇḍi*, 'staff, cudgel'. This Group is without a nasal except Ka. *daṇḍi* probably the result of contamination with derivatives from *daṇḍa* and *t-* is attested by Ka. as well as Ta. and Ma. It seems to be independent of the words borrowed from Sanskrit.

(ii) Sanskrit *dhosaka* means a cake made from chick peas, black gram, and peas. The text in which the term occurs is very late (A.D. 1130). Another term, *dosā*, supposed to be identical with *dhosaka* occurs in a text from A.D. 1600. Both the texts are southern. The Dravidian names for this dish are: Ta. *tōcai*, colloquial *dōcai* 'a kind of rice cake'; Ma. *dōsa* 'a cake baked on an iron plate'; Ka. *dōse* 'a holed, i.e., spongy, cake of rice flour'; Te. *dōse* 'a kind of cake'.

The Tamil literary word is not recorded by the Tamil Lexicon as occurring in early texts. Considering the linguistic and philological facts and the distribution of the material item, Prof. Emeneau concluded that it is probable that the name of the cake originated in the Kannada (or possibly Kannada cum Telugu) territory, that the Tamil and Malayalam forms with *d-* are borrowings from Kannada-Telugu, that the Sanskrit *doṣa* is a straightforward borrowing from Dravidian, and that the Sanskrit *dhosaka* is a hyper-Sanskritization of a Dravidian form \**dōsa* / \**dōṣa*.

(iii) Indian lexicographers give the meaning of *valkala* as 'bark of tree'. However, this meaning is not clearly and crucially attested by texts examined by Prof. Emeneau. The references to *valkala* in the Śakuntalā play make it improbable that it was untreated bark that was intended.

The washability (I.13), a close fit to the body (I.18), ability to be tied in a tiny knot (I.18) - all belong to the *tapā* cloth of Polynesia and to woven fabric. Emeneau therefore thinks that 'Bast' rather than 'bark' is probably the basic meaning of this word and the clothing of ascetics (and of Śakuntalā) is made of a fabric produced from bast. Further, *valkala* and *kauṣeya* 'silk' are coupled as subject to identical governmental regulation; this would argue that *valkala* is a manufactured fabric. (The *tapā* variety of bark cloth is found in Africa, Indonesia and Polynesia, Central and South America; it

\* Kalidāsa's Śakuntalā, Śusrusamhita, Agnipurāṇa and Yājñavalkyasmṛi



is produced by wetting and pounding bast fibre, which is derived from the inner bark of certain suitable plants or trees).

(iv) The Sanskrit words *nāgapāśa*, *nāgabandha*, *sarpabandha* and a few other related words form a group whose meanings seem not to have been accurately recorded in the dictionaries. The term *nāgapāśa* in the commentaries on VS 6.8 *ṛtāsyā tvā devahaviḥ pāśena prātimuñcāmi* 'I bind you, O offering to the gods, with the bond of the holy order') means "a method of tying (a sacrificial animal's horns) with snakelike coils or loops, and that the *Mahābhārata* passage 8.37. 21-7 referred to in the dictionaries has *nāgam astram* meaning "a (magical) sort of missile which produces binding of the feet (*pādabandha*) by snakes (real ones which can be eaten by birds of prey)". The word *nāgabandha* may well be a synonym of *nāgapāśa* and is so treated by our dictionaries.

The use of *nāgabandha* as a technical term in architecture is vouched for by Ananda K. Kumaraswamy (JAOS 48.265) where he says that it means 'the stop of a chamfer' which stop "often approximates in shape to a cobra's hood". He says that it "would evidently be a perforated window with a design of entwined serpents", for which he finds archaeological evidence. On the other hand, both *nāgapāśa* and *nāgabandha* are given as names of one of the *citrabandhas*, viz., a verse written in the form of a snake's coils. *Sarpabandha* denotes some sort of figure which contains writing and therefore is at least akin in meaning to *nāgabandha* in one of its architectural senses, and to *nāgabandha* and *nāgapāśa* in their meaning of a poetical *citrabandha*.

Prof. Emeneau has located two inscriptions engraved on the pillars of an old grammar school called the Bhaja Sala at Dhar from the time of the Paramars of Dhar. The inscriptions are known as *sarpabandha*, because they are engraved in the form of intertwining serpents with their bodies twisted lengthwise and crosswise leaving oblong spaces within for letters. One of the inscriptions is a chart of the Sanskrit alphabet and the other of verbal termination.

(v) In another important paper, Emeneau with B.A. Van Nooten has solved the problem of interpretation of the word *devr* in RV. 10.40.2 by consideration of the social structure involved in the *Niyoga* institution described in the *smṛti* texts; the similar custom seen in many communities in present-day



North India and the related 'jesting relationship' described for roughly the same communities.

Sāyaṇa interprets *devaram* here as *bhartr̥ bhrātaram* 'husband's brother'. Yāska calls him *dviṭīyo varah* 'second husband'. The Mitakṣarā commentary on *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* (A.D. 1120-1125) equates *devara* with *kanīyān bhrāta* 'younger brother'. Kṣīraswamin's commentary on *Amarakośa* 3.6.32 (2nd half of the 11th cent. A.D.) interprets the word as *bhrātā kaniṣṭhaḥ* 'the youngest brother'. Hemachandra in his dictionary *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi* dated between A.D. 1160-1172 gives the meaning *avaraje patyuh* for *devrdevarau* 'born later to husband'. Dhammapāla's *Pāli* commentary on a verse in *Vimānavatthu* gives for *devara* the equivalent *bhattu kaniṭṭhabhātā* 'youngest brother'. Dhammapāla is placed either at the close of the 5th cent. A.D. or some time in the sixth century. So the earliest datable evidence for semantic shift is Dhammapāla's. Then there is a gap of about half a millennium.

The reason for the semantic development, Emeneau suggests is to be found in the 'respect' system as it operates between brothers. For the wife, certainly her husband's elder brother is an object of 'respect' and avoidance as he is equated with her father-in-law.

(vi) In a short paper on 'the etymology of the name Sāyaṇa', Emeneau with K. Kushalappa Gowda states that Sāyaṇa is a Kannada name of the type ending in the relationship term *aṇ(ṇ)a* 'elder brother'. The first element for him is *sāyi*, derived from Sanskrit *svāmin*, in a modern Indo-Aryan form and with the meaning 'supreme Lord' (< "lord, master") which is attested sporadically in both Indo-Aryan and Dravidian usage.

## Linguistic

(a) Sanskrit *prati* is represented in Prakrit normally by *paḍi* or occasionally by *pai*. *Pari* generally remains unchanged, but in Māgadhi and other Prakrits which come under this head often becomes Pali. In the present paper, 'Confusion in Prakrit between Skt. prepositions *prati* and *pari*', Prof. Emeneau collected a number of cases from the published literature in which Sanskrit *pari* is represented by Pkt. *paḍi* and has suggested a reason for the equivalence. The equivalence is grounded on a consideration of the meaning of the two affixes. In Sanskrit and in Prakrit too they are kept rigidly



apart, *prati* in the meaning 'to, towards, against', *pari* in the meaning (i) 'round, about', and (ii) 'very, excessively'.

In the three words, particularly *paḍiuttha*, *paḍikamma* and *paḍipunṇa*, there are two possibilities. *paḍi* while represented as Skt. *prati* could also be taken by the speakers or writers as representing *pari*, since in the last two cases at least, *pari* was more normal. From such cases, Prof. Emeneau concludes that a process of inflection may have started, assisted, in spite of the fact that the semantic spheres of the two prepositions are usually kept distinct in both languages, by the fact that in some words such as *paḍipellana*, a secondary meaning is the usual or only one and the etymological force of the preposition is obscured for the users of the language.

(b) In an important paper, "The nasal phonemes of Sanskrit", brought out at the time when methods of phonemic analysis are being shaped, Prof. Emeneau examined the nasal sounds in Sanskrit, determined by modern phonemic methods, what nasal phonemes must be set up for the language.

Contrast in all positions differentiates *n* and *m*. Contrast in final position differentiates *n*, *m*, *ṇ*, and *ṇ̄*. The differentiation of *ṇ̄* is reinforced by its intervocalic occurrence, where it contrasts with *n* and *m*, its occurrence as first member in intervocalic clusters, where it contrasts with all the other nasals except *ṇ̄*, and its occurrence as second number in intervocalic clusters, where it contrasts with all except *ṇ̄* and *ṇ̄*. The differentiation of *ṇ̄* seen in final position is reinforced by its occurrence as first member in the intervocalic cluster *ṇ̄m*, where it contrasts with all the other nasals except *ṇ̄*.

The occurrences of *ṇ̄* are restricted to position before the palatal stops *c*, *ch*, and *j*, and after *c* and *j*. There is contrast with *m*, which occurs after *c* and *j*, but not with any other of the nasals so far treated. Of the remaining, it is more economical to decide that *ṇ̄* is an allophone of *n* than of either *ṇ̄* or *ṇ̄*, when we come to make morphophonemic and morphological statements.

There is another phenomena called *anusvāra*, which contrasts with homorganic nasals before mutes. It also contrasts with other phonemes before the sibilants, *r* and *h*. Before the semi vowels, there is alternation between *anusvāra* and a nasalized semivowel. All these allophones may be conveniently grouped as one phoneme and named *anusvāra*. Thus, it is



shown that Sanskrit language has five nasal phonemes: velar, retroflex, dental, and labial nasals, and *anusvāra*. The palatal nasal is an allophone of the dental nasal. Its representation by a separate character was probably due to the striving on the part of the Hindu grammarians for schematic symmetry. The paper is a good specimen in phonemicization and provided model to at least 2-3 papers by young Indian linguists on phonemic analysis of the same sounds in their respective languages.

(c) In another paper, "Linguistic prehistory of India", delivered before the American Philosophical Society, Prof. Emeneau made an attempt at a reconstruction of the historical relationship between Indo-Aryan, Dravidian and Munda. Borrowings are noted from Dravidian into Sanskrit, possibly even into the language of the Veda. In Sanskrit records, it is seen, that linguistic evidence of contacts were found between the Sanskrit speaking invaders and the other linguistic groups within India; and that some of the non-IE features in Sanskrit were Dravidian (possibly Munda) in type. Many of the borrowed items are names of flora and fauna indigenous in India and not elsewhere in the old IE territory.

The paper has at the end two appendices. In appendix 1, Emeneau summarizes first in his own words the criteria set forth by Prof. Burrow for identifying Dravidian words borrowed into Sanskrit, and then presents etymologies of 13 such items (e.g. *elā* 'cardamom', *pallī* 'house lizard', *mayūra* 'peacock', *nīra* 'water', *phala* 'fruit', *bala* 'strength'). In appendix 2, Prof. Emeneau points out the problems involved in similarly identifying borrowings from Munda and suggests that it should wait until such time that accurate and intensive recordings and analysis of Munda languages are made available.

(d) In another presidential address, "India and Linguistics", Prof. Emeneau reviews linguistic scholarship of the Hindus and has all praise for their achievement. Writing on the works of early phoneticians, he says, "they became very exact phoneticians at a time when all other people either had made no advances in this direction or were only the most hopeless fumblers. Their phonetics handbook (viz. *Prātisākhya*) to the Veda is warrant that three millennia have produced only the most insignificant of changes in the text and the pronunciation of the text.

About the Hindu grammatical studies which reached its finest point in Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, Emeneau notes: "Pāṇini's description of Sanskrit is



an exemplification of how linguistic description should follow scientific canons, and as a model of what should be attempted, it has not yet been bettered, except in the field of syntax. At all other levels - phonological and morphological - all similarities were sought out, and classes and classes of classes were set up so that the language might be organized in the smallest number of classes and subclasses". On the other hand, the native and medieval Greek and Indian phonology is immature and inept compared with the Hindu phonetic, phonemic and morphophonemic analysis. Allomorphic statement, the use of zero as an allomorph (*lopa*, etc.), the identification of systematic similarities between sets of allomorphs, which we label morphophonemics, the setting up of morphophonemes to ease the description in some complex cases (e.g.  $\bar{r}$ ), the identification of meanings of classes - all this, mostly expertly done, is in the Hindu grammar".

Commenting on the appropriateness of classification by some scholars of Pāṇini's grammatical description as one of item and process, Emeneau wonders whether the clear cut dichotomy of description by the terms "arrangement" and "process" is not really too simple in Pāṇini's case, and whether his terminological conventions are not in fact a synthesis of the two methods. He sums up his address by stating that in the dawn of Western linguistics 'light' certainly came from India.

(e) In another important paper, the dialects of Old Indo-Aryan, Prof. Emeneau argues that the composers of Rig-Vedic hymns spoke several dialects one of which was ancestral and evolved into classical Sanskrit whereas others evolved into Middle and Modern Indic dialects. Only two proto-Indo-European words have circumvented this OIA channel and have turned up later in the vernaculars (e.g. *pard* 'to break wind', *gu ūtha* 'excrement').

Emeneau notes that Vedic Sanskrit differs from Classical Sanskrit. The former has pitch accent and maintains distinction between the three past tenses, viz. Imperfect, Perfect, Aorist, while the latter has stress accent and generally equates the meaning with the three past tenses. For this difference in Classical Sanskrit, Emeneau thinks that it is due to invasion of the literary language by vernaculars like Pāli and the Prakrits. Emeneau has argued why Rigvedic dialect is not the direct ancestor of Classical Sanskrit. In phonology, while RV shows intervocalically *!* classical Sanskrit has *ḍ* in that position. Alternant morphological forms such as *janās* / *janāsas*, *pūrvabhiḥ* / *nūtansiḥ* as against single forms in Classical Sanskrit indicates



that the Rigvedic linguistic norm was a mixed dialect. Classical Sanskrit has lost the subjunctive and the augmentless Aorist and Imperfect forms in modal use. Prepositions and verb forms have become inseparable in Classical Sanskrit. Classical Sanskrit shows words of MIA origin: e.g. *masṇa* 'soft, smooth' < Pkt. *masaṇa* < Skt. *mṛtsna*, *māriṣa* 'friend' < Pkt. *māriṣa* < Skt. *mādrṣa* 'like me'. Pāṇini's *maireya* 'an intoxicating drink' < Pkt. *maireya* which is an extension derived from Skt. *mādirā*. MIA features show up even in late Vedic: *vikāṭa* 'enormous' < \**vikṛta*, *śithira* 'loose' < *śrth-*.

Prof. Emeneau is a versatile scholar and has equal mastery in both Sanskrit and Dravidian. Through his writings extending over three quarters of a century, Emeneau has clarified many of the etymological details in Sanskrit. He is an indefatigable fieldworker of the Sapirian tradition and has always viewed language as an important component of culture. The exactitude and thoroughness, which characterize his writings, are worth emulating by scholars. While paying a small *gurudakṣiṇā* through this study, I pray for Prof. Emeneau many more years of good health and scholarly activity - *kurvanneveha karmāṇi jītvīṣet śatam samāḥ*.

## Prof. Murray B. Emeneau's Writings on Sanskrit

### a. Books

1. *Jambhaladatta's version of the Vetālapañcaviṃśati*  
(A critical Sanskrit text in transliteration, with an introduction and English translation). American Oriental Series volume 4. New Haven : American Oriental Society, 1934.)
2. *Vedic Variants, Volume III: Noun and Pronoun Inflection*  
(with M. Bloomfield and F. Edgerton). LSA. Philadelphia, 1934.  
Reviews by Leroy C. Barret, *JAOS* 55 (1935), Ralph L. Turner, *BSOS* 8 (1935)
3. *A Union List of Printed Indic Texts and Translations in American Libraries*  
American Oriental Series volume 7. New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1935.  
Reviews by S.M. Katre, *NIA* 5 (1942), G.M. Bolling, *Lg* 12



4. *Sanskrit Sandhi and Exercises*

Berkeley: University of California Press (Revised edition 1958), 1952.

Review by G.H. Fairbanks, *JAOS* 74 (1954)

5. *Kālidāsa's Śakuntalā*.

Translation from the Bengali recension.

Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962.

**b. Articles**

1. "Confusion in Prakrit between the Sanskrit prepositions *prati* and *pari*". *JAOS* 51, 33-39, 1931.
2. "Kṣemendra as kavi". *JAOS* 53, 124-43, 1933.
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4. "Central Asiatic Versions of the Vetālapañcaviṃśati". *Poona Orientalist* 2:3, 38-41, 4.8-10. 1936-37.
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7. "The nasal phonemes of Sanskrit". *Lg.* 22. 86-93. 1946.
8. "The strangling figs in Sanskrit literature". *UCPCP* 13. 345-70. 1949.
9. "Notes on Śrīharṣa's *Naiṣadhacarita*". *UCPSP* 11. 87-102. 1951.
10. "Linguistic Prehistory of India". *Proc. of Am. Philosophical Society* 98(4). 282-92. 1954.
11. "Sanskrit *phala* borrowed from Dravidian". *Proc. of Am. Phil. Society*. 98.290ff. 1954.
12. "Signed verses by Sanskrit poets". *IL*. 16. 41-52. 1955.



13. "India and Linguistics". *JAOS* 75. 145-53. 1955.
14. "Śrīharsa's Naiṣadhacarita and the Mahābhārata, a critical edition". *P.K. Gode comm. Volume*. Poona Oriental Series 93. 106-12. 1960.
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17. "Bark Cloth in India - Sanskrit *Valkala*". *JAOS* 82. 167-70. 1962.
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19. "Some Indian Etymologies". *IL Turner Jubilee Volume*. pp. 71-74. 1958.
20. "Sanskrit *api*: Dravidian *-um*". *LSAMH* 29-30. 1973.
21. "Sanskrit syntactic particles kila, khalu, nūnam". *III* 11(4). 243-68. 1969.
22. "The etymology of the name Sāyana". *JAOS* 94. 211-12. 1974.
23. "Retroflexion rules in Sanskrit" in *South Asian Languages Analysis*. Department of Linguistics, University of Illinois, 1979.
24. "Sanskrit *bhagin* 'wealthy' - village headman, fisherman, palanquin - bearer" in *American Indian and Indo-European studies*. Mouton: Trends in Linguistic Studies and Monographs 16. 1980.
25. "Sanskrit and Dravidian". *Indological Journal* 13. 61-71. 1985-86.
26. "Bloomfield and Pāṇini". *Lg.* 64(4). 755-60. 1988.
27. "The young wife and her husband's brother". RV.10.40.2 and 10.85.44. *JAOS* 111(3). 481-494. 1991.



### **DRAVIDIAN ENCYCLOPAEDIA (3 Volumes)**

V.I. Subramoniam (Ed.), HB, Demy 1/4, Rs. 2,740/- (US\$ 580/-)  
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**Volume III:** Contains articles on Dravidian tribes living in the cis-Vindhyan area and north of it. The major tribes described are the Brahui, Gonds, Abujh Maria, Bison Horn Maria, Muria, Maria, Kondh and Oraon.



## **EMENEAU'S CONTRIBUTION TO COMPARATIVE PHONOLOGY AND MORPHOLOGY OF DRAVIDIAN**

**Bh. KRISHNAMURTI**  
Hyderabad

[Professor M.B. Emeneau has turned his 100th year on February 29, 2004. This is a matter of joy for linguists in general and Indologists in particular, all over the world. It is very appropriate that the Dravidian Linguistics Association has decided to hold a special session in his honour at its annual conference at Warangal, Andhra Pradesh from 10-12 June 2004. I am grateful to the authorities of the DLA for inviting me as one of the participants at this special symposium.]

Note: The numbers in square brackets refer to entry nos. in DEDR, see Burrow and Emeneau 1984.

### **0. Introduction**

Professor M.B. Emeneau spent three years (1935-38) in India doing fieldwork mainly on the Nilgiri languages, Toda and Kota; he also collected adequate data on Badaga and Kodagu of South India, Kolami of Central India, and Brahui in the Northwest (now in Pakistan). A large crop of publications has resulted from this fieldwork, although the tools of his recording had been none other than his sharp ears and paper and pencil. The tape-recorder was not yet invented. During 1931-35, he studied classics (Latin, Greek and Sanskrit) and anthropological linguistics at Yale with rigorous training under such great masters as Sturtevant, Edgerton and Sapir. He also had some exposure to Leonard Bloomfield. His interest in fieldwork and in anthropological linguistics derived from his tutelage under Sapir. That Emeneau's phonetics was perfect even in those years has been established by Ladefoged, when he and P. Bhaskara Rao studied Toda recently and compared their notes with Emeneau's material on Toda.



During the period 1935 to 2000, Emeneau has brought out fourteen publications each in comparative phonology and morphology besides many other works of great significance. It must be remembered that a clear demarcation is not possible since comparative morphology necessarily involves discussion of phonological problems. Burrow had already published several papers on comparative phonology during 1938-48 in *BSO(A)S* (Vol. 9-12) bearing on the developments of PD *\*k*, *\*c*, *\*y*, *\*ñ*, the question of initial voiced stops in Dravidian, and alternations i/e and u/o. Emeneau's papers deal mainly with comparative accounts from the stand point of Toda, Kota, Kodagu and Brahui phonemes. Most of Emeneau's papers on comparative phonology and morphology have been reprinted in his 1994 publication. In each of his papers he examines all earlier studies bearing on the problems involved and tries to improve on these.

Much of what I write below can be found in my earlier works (Krishnamurti 1969, 1985, 1994, 2001b, 2003).

## 1. Comparative phonology

**1.1 Toda and North Dravidian developments of PD *\*c*.** Emeneau's first paper (1953a) in this area proposes the rule

$$(1) *c > t / \# \_ \text{ (Toda)}$$

in which he shows that PD *\*c* word initially develops to *t*- in Toda. Exceptions to this rule are explained as later addition to the language through borrowing, e.g. PD *\*cutu* 'to burn': Ta. *cutu*, To. *tur-*, *tut-* (v.t.) 'to burn'; exceptions include To. *isty* 'man of Chetti caste' < Ta. *cetti*, etc. (1953: 108-12). Emeneau's paper 'North Dravidian velar stops' (1961b) gives a few definite cases supporting the following changes:

$$(2) a. *c > k / \# \_ *u, *ū \text{ (ND)}$$

$$b. *c > k / \# \_ e, ē \text{ (ND)}$$

I have restated this rule as

$$c. *c > k / \# \_ \text{ [ +syllabic, (low)] (ND)}$$



Emeneau (1961b:371-88; repr. 1994:1-15) gave four cases of *k* [u, ū] and four for *k* [e, ē]. Actually the instances involving the mid-vowels were not as clear as the ones with high vowels. In 1988 (repr. 1994) he noticed that besides North Dravidian, several other Dravidian languages also showed *k*-sporadically. In a later article, he called this sound change 'sporadic' and irregular and not specific to North Dravidian only. I have included all high and mid vowels in the environment in view of the following etymologies (see Emeneau 1994: §§28, 29):

PD *\*cīnt-* 'date-palm'. SD I: Ta. *īntuṭṇācal*, Ma. *īntal*, Ka. *īcal* (< *\*īn-ccal* < *īntt-al*); SCD (SD II): Te. *ītā* (< *\*īn-tt-*), Go. *sīndi*, *hīndi*, *īndi*, Kōṇḍa *sīntel*, Kui *sīta*, Kuvi *sīndi*; CD: Pa. Gad. *sīndi*: ND Kur. *kīndā* [2617].

PD *\*cut-u* 'to burn': SD I & II, CD have cognates: Kur. Malt. *kur-* [2274], Kur.Malt. *kur-* [2654]; PD *\*cur-V* 'to shrink, shrivel'. South Dravidian I, Te. and Central Dravidian have cognates: ND: *kurr-* [2687]; PD *\*cum-V* 'to carry on head'. South Dravidian I, South Dravidian II, Central Dravidian have cognates: ND: Kur. Malt. *kum-*, Br. *kubēn* 'heavy' [2677]; PD *\*cūr/\*cur-V* 'to curl, roll up'. South Dravidian I, South Dravidian II, Central Dravidian have cognates: ND: Kur. *kūr*, Malt. *kurg-*, Br. *kūr-* [2684]; South Dravidian I and Te. also have forms traceable to *\*kur-ul* with the same meaning in [1794]. The North Dravidian forms can match both the etymologies. For the forms with *\*c* [ē] Emeneau gives 9 examples, not all of which are clearly reconstructable to *\*ē*, e.g. *\*cer-* 'to insert'. South Dravidian I, South Dravidian II have cognates; ND: Kur. *xerr-*, Malt. *qer-*. The North Dravidian consonant points to PD *\*k-* rather than *\*c-*, but Ka. has no *k-*. Emeneau has given *k-* forms for *\*c-* sporadically in Toda [2599], Pa. [2484], *c* → *Ø-*, *t-*, *k-* [2591], etc. Since there is no pattern in these changes, one cannot be certain of the cognates grouped under the same entry. For instance, I would separate the words meaning 'wing' in the following etymology into two groups:

PD *\*cet-ank-/ankk-* 'wing'. South Dravidian I: Ta. *cirai*, *ciraku*, *irai*, *iraku*, *irakkai*, Ma. *ciraku*, To. *tergy*, Ka. *eranke*, *erake*, *rakke*, *rekke*, Kōḍ. *terake*, Tu. *edinke*, *renke*; South Dravidian II: Te. *eraka*, *rekka* (some South Dravidian II and Central Dravidian languages have borrowed from Telugu).

PD *\*ket-V-* 'wing, feather': Ko. *kera* (ñ) *l*, Tu. *kedunke* 'tip of wing', *kedi* 'feather', Go. *geri* (g) [2591].

A very valuable etymology pointing to  $*c > k$  [ $ay \sim ey$  is the group meaning 'die', which seems to involve a Proto-Dravidian laryngeal  $*H$  because it is preserved as a laryngeal fricative in Brahui and also because of the aberrant vocalism in different languages (Krishnamurti 1997b: 152):

PD  $*caH$ - 'to die', PSD  $*caH$ -/ $*cā$ -. SD I: Ta.  $cā$  (non-past  $cā$ -v-, past  $ce$ -tt- <  $*ca$ -tt), Ma.  $cā$  ( $catt$ -); with  $*H > y$ , To.  $soy$ - ( $sot$ -) (borrowing from Badaga), Ka.  $sāy$ - ( $satt$ -), Tu.  $sai$ - 'to die'; all the South Dravidian languages also have a noun in  $*cāw$  (<  $*caH$ -w-) 'death'; SD II: Te.  $cacc$ - (past  $cacc$ - <  $*caH$ -cci, non-past [imper./inf.]  $cā$ -/ $cāw$ -, by contraction of  $*aH$  to  $ā$ ) 'to die',  $ca$ -mpu (<  $*caH$ -mpp-) v.t 'to kill',  $cāwu$  n. 'death', Go.  $sai$ -,  $sāy$ -,  $sā$ -,  $hā$ -, Koṇḍa  $sā$ - ( $sā$ -t-), Kui  $sā$ - ( $sā$ -t-), Kuvi  $hai$ -,  $hā$ - ( $hā$ -t-), Pengo-Manda  $hā$ - ( $hā$ -t-). PCD  $*cay$ -/ $*cāy$ -. Pa.  $cay$ - ( $ca$ -ñ- <  $cay$ -nj- <  $*cay$ -nd-), Oll.  $sav$ -, Gad.  $cay$ - 'to die'. ND  $*keH$ -,  $*key$ -. Kur.  $khē$ - ~  $*kē$  ( $ke$ -cc-), Malt  $key$ - ( $ke$ -) 'to die',  $keype$  n. 'death', Br.  $kah$ - ( $kask$ -, neg,  $kas$ -) 'to die',  $kas$ -if- 'to kill' [2425].

**1.2 Brahui vowels:** In his monograph *Brahui and Dravidian Comparative Grammar* (1962), Emeneau has discussed the loss of Proto-Dravidian short mid vowels /e o/ in Brahui in accented syllables. Brahui has inherited Proto-Dravidian high and low vowels, short and long /a ā i ī u ū/. Among the mid vowels, Bray gives short and long  $e \bar{e}$ , but only  $\bar{o}$ . Emeneau (1962b: §2.1) has established that short  $o$  occurs only in unaccented non-root syllables and that there is no contrast between  $e$  and  $\bar{e}$ . Therefore, he sets up only long mid vowels phonemically / $\bar{e} \bar{o}$ /, accounting for this situation because of the influence of neighbouring Indo-Aryan and Iranian languages. Emeneau frames the following rules for root syllables:

3. a. PND  $*(C)e > \text{Brah. } (C)i, a$

b. PND  $*(C)o > \text{Brah. } (C)u, a, \bar{o}$

The conditions of the split are not clear. In a recent article (1997:441-3), he has provided evidence for PD  $*e$  being represented by  $\bar{e}$  in root syllables, which fills in a phonological gap. Examples: PND  $*e > \text{Br. } a$ , e.g.  $hal$  'rat'  $*el$ -i [833],  $kah$ - 'to die' (< PND  $*keh$ - < PD  $*caH$ - ~  $*ceH$ - 'to die'); in this case only Brahui preserves the Proto-Dravidian laryngeal as /h/: PND  $*e > \text{Br. } i$ , e.g.  $pir$  'to swell' <  $*per$ -V- [4411],  $mir$ - 'to plaster' <  $*mez$ -V- [5082]. Emeneau gives 15 instances of  $*e > a$  and 7 of  $*e > i$  from new material PND  $*e > \bar{e}$  in Br.  $bēgh$  'knead': PD  $*mel$ -k-, cf. Ta.



*melku* 'to become soft (by soaking, etc.)' [5078], with loss of *l* before *k* and lengthening of the preceding vowel (1997:442). There are 13 certain cases of retention of PD *\*ē* as Br. *ē* (Emeneau 1962d: §§2.13-21). PND *\*o* > Br. *o* (4 cases), e.g. *tōr-* (*tōn-*, *tō-*) 'to hold, keep' < *\*tot-V-* [3480], PND *\*o* > Br. *u* (5 cases), e.g. *cut* 'a drop', *cutting-* 'to drip' < *\*cot-*: Ta. *cottu* 'to fall in drops', n. 'a drop' [2835], *\*o* > *a* (2 cases), Br. *xall-* 'to strike, kill' < *\*kol-* 'to kill' [2132]. There are 8 clear cases of *\*ō* > Br. *ō*, e.g. Br. *tōla* 'jackal'. Ka. *tōla*, Tu. *tōli* [3548] (see Emeneau 1962b: §§2.22-27).

**1.3 Kota vowel shift:** Kota has no centralized vowels like the other Nilgiri languages. This has been explained as due to its earlier separation from Pre-Tamil. It has, however, another idiosyncratic change of the root vowel being harmonized to the formative vowel *\*-e* (< *\*-ay*), which was later lost (Emeneau 1970a: 49-50, 1969: 21-34, repr. 1994:175-82).

- (4) a. *ay* > *e* / # (C<sub>1</sub>) *o*, *u* {C<sub>2</sub>, C<sub>3</sub>C<sub>4</sub>}\_\_# (C<sub>2</sub> = any consonant admissible in the intervocalic position: (C<sub>3</sub>C<sub>4</sub> = a geminate stop, i.e. C<sub>3</sub> = C<sub>4</sub>, or a nasal + voiced homorganic stop; stem-final *\*-ay* becomes *-e* in Pre-Kota).

- b. *\*o*, *\*u* > *e*, *i* / # (C<sub>1</sub>)\_\_ {C<sub>2</sub>, C<sub>3</sub>C<sub>4</sub>}-V<sub>2</sub> (V<sub>2</sub> = *e* from Rule 4a)

Root vowels *o*, *u* become *e*, *i* respectively, before formative *e* in pre-Kota.

- c. *\*e* >  $\emptyset$  / # (C<sub>1</sub>)*e*, *i* {C<sub>2</sub>, C<sub>3</sub>C<sub>4</sub>}\_\_#

Stem-final, formative *-e* derived from Rule 4a is lost; pre-Kota to Kota.

Simplification of final consonant cluster

- d. C<sub>3</sub>C<sub>4</sub> > C<sub>4</sub> / # (C<sub>1</sub>) *e*, *o*\_\_#

The final cluster resulting from Rule 4c is simplified, or C<sub>3</sub> is lost between pre-Kota and Kota.

This is a three-step sound change: (1) stem-final formative *-ay* becomes *-e* in Pre-Kota; (2) radical vowels *o*, *u* are fronted to corresponding height, being assimilated to the following formative vowel *-e*; (3) the loss of the formative vowel *-e* and the simplification of the preceding consonant cluster. The root vowel can be short or long and the intervening consonant

can be single or a cluster. The consonant clusters in the intervening position are PP (geminate stops) or NP nasal + voiced homorganic stop.

Examples: PSD *\*koṭ-ay* 'umbrella' > Ta. *kuṭ-ay*, Ko. *keṭ* (< *\*keṭ-e* < *\*koḍ-e* < *\*koḍ-ay*) [1663]; the relative chronology of what happened to the medial consonant(s) is not relevant to the sound changes in question; PSD *\*koṭṭ-ay* 'stone of fruit' > Ta. *koṭṭay*, Ko. *keṭ* 'testes' [2069]; Ta. *kōṭay* 'west wind': To. *kēṭ* 'SW monsoon' [2203]; PSD *\*ol-a-kk-ay* 'pestle' > Ta. *ulakkai*, Ko. *elk* (also loss of *-a-* between *-l-* and *-kk-*) [672]; PD *\*kupp-ay* 'heap' > Ta. *kuppai*, Ko. *kip* [1731a]; Ta. *punṭai* 'male organ': Ko. *piḍ* 'vulva' [4273]; PSD *\*mūlay* 'brain, marrow' > Ta. *mūlai*, Ko. *mīl*. [5051].

Emeneau (1994: 178-82) has noted that there are many exceptions to the above sound changes. Seven out of 26 items which register the changes as proposed have doublets like *peg*, *pog* 'smoke' (*\*pokay*), *mel*, *mol* 'breast' (*\*molay*); Besides, there are 22 nouns and 9 verbs with unchanged vowels under the conditions of expected change, e.g. Ko. *ōl* 'palm leaf': Ta. *ōlai* [1070], Ko. *koḷv-* (*koḷd-*) 'to rot': Ta. *kuṭai* (*-v-*, *-nt-*) [1822]. For some of these Emeneau invoked borrowing from neighbouring languages like Baḍaga, Kannaḍa and Tamil (179). It is possible that the order in which the above sound changes applied could be different producing different results. If Rules 6b and 6c started from different ends of the Kota territory, it is possible that loss applied first and blocked assimilation of the root vowel in the overlapping area, leading to what is called rule reordering. The large number of doublets supports this alternative. In the case of verbs *-e* < *\*-ay* occurs medially and its loss must have preceded the assimilation rule (Krishnamurti 1994a:xvi-xvii). It is also possible that the sound change had ceased midway.

**1.4 Back unrounded vowels in Koḍagu:** Koḍagu registers the split of Pre-Koḍagu *i* to *i/ī* and *e* to *e/ē*; the centralized vowels occur before retroflex consonants and *r* (< *\*-ṭ-* [*-ṛ-*]). At a later period, the consonants that conditioned the original allophones were lost through assimilation to the following obstruents. After bilabial consonants front vowels become the corresponding back vowels, which bleeds all such instances from centralization. Root vowel *\*e* becomes *a* when followed by retroflexes followed by *V<sub>2</sub>*, that is [+low] [Emeneau 1970a: 46-49, 1970b: 145-58, repr. 1994:183-201].

- (5) a. *\*e* > *a* /# (C<sub>1</sub>)\_\_C<sub>2</sub>-V<sub>2</sub> (C<sub>1</sub> = *\*p*, *\*m*, *\*c*, *\*k*; C<sub>2</sub> = retroflex *ḍ*, *ḷ*; V<sub>2</sub> = [+low]) Pre-Koḍagu to Koḍagu change, e.g.



PSD \**kel-ay* > Ta. *kilai* 'to dig up', Kod. *kal-a* [1588]; PSD \**pet-a-* > Ta. *pit-ar* 'nape of neck', Ka. *peda*: Kod. *pada mande* 'back of head', Pa. *pidtel* 'behind' [4146].

b.  $i\bar{i} e\bar{e} > u\bar{u} o\bar{o} / \# C_1 \_ C_2 V_2$  ( $C_1 = p, m, b$  [ $< *w$ ];  $C_2 = a$  retroflex consonant; in clusters the second obstruent)

PD \**wit-u* 'to leave, release' > Ta. *vitu* (*vit-*), Kod. *bud-* (*but-*), PSD \**wiz-/wiz-V-* > Ta. *viz* (*-v-*, *-nt-*)/*viz-u* (*-v-*, *-nt-*) 'to fall', Kod. *bul-* (*buv-*, *budd-*) [5430], \**petti* 'box' > Ta. Ma. *petti*, Kod. *poti* 'box', PD \**vel-nt-* 'to want' > Ta. *ventu* 'to want': Kod. *bod-* 'to beg' [5528].

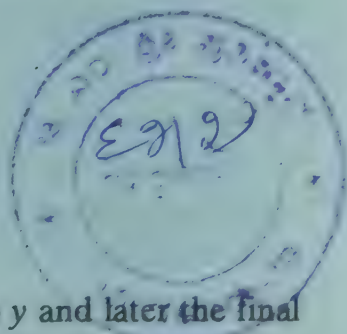
c.  $i, \bar{i}, e, \bar{e} > i, \bar{i}, \bar{e}, \bar{e} / \# (C_1) \_ C_2 V_2$  ( $C_1 \neq$  labial or palatal;  $C_2 =$  Retroflex or  $*t$ ) Pre-Kodagu to Kodagu

PD \**it-u* 'to put, place': PSD \**it-u* > Ta. *itu* (*itt-*), Kod. *id-* (*itt-*) [442], PD \**kiz* 'below' > Ta. *kiz* > Kod. *k i l i* [1619], PSD \**en-ttu* 'eight' > Ta. *ettu*, Kod. *ettu* [784], PD \**tet-* 'to be thorough, to recover' > Ta. *teru*, Kod. *ter-* (*teruv-*, *tend-*) '(man) becomes fully grown' [3471]. The centralization here took place before  $*t[-r]$  merged with  $r$  ( $< *r$ ), because it does not take place before  $r < *r$  or before the reflex of geminated  $*tt$ . Rule 5c applies to items that have been left out after Rules 5a and 5b had applied. It is in a bleeding relation to those rules. They also indicate the chronological profile of the changes.

**1.5 PD  $\bar{z}$  in Kodagu and Brahui:** Emeneau (1971b; repr. 1994: 203-8) has given definitive environments for the developments of  $*\bar{z}$  in Kodagu and Brahui, as follows:

(6) a. PSD  $*\bar{z} > y \sim yy / (C)a \_ + i$  (Pre-Kodagu)

b.  $i > \emptyset / \_ \#$



Disyllabic forms of the type (C)*az-i* change  $\bar{z}$  to  $y$  and later the final vowel is lost, e.g. pre-Ta  $*kaz-i$  'to undo knot' > Kod. *kay*. There are four clear cases of this type.

c.  $*\bar{z} > ! / V \_ V$

Intervocalically, PSD  $^*z$ - becomes  $-l-$  in Kodagu (after the application of Rule 6a, e.g. pre-Ta.  $^*āzam > \text{Kod. } āla$ , 'depth' [338],  $^*koz-al > kol-a$  'flute' (note the loss of final  $l$ ) [1511],  $^*ež-u-tu > ēl-i-du$  'write' [853],  $^*ež-u > i-l-i$  'to descend'. There are 24 examples of this type.

d.  $^*z > \emptyset / \_\_ + C$

In seven stems of (C) $\nabla z$ - ~ (C) $\nabla z$ -VC- type,  $l$  occurs root-finally alternating with  $\emptyset$  in paradigms with a short vowel lost before a stop consonant in inflection or derivation, e.g.  $ūl-$  ~  $ul$ -V- 'to plough',  $up$ - (future),  $ut$ - (past), but  $ūl-i$  (imp) [427],  $kaz-u-tt$ - 'to wash'  $> ka-t$ - [1154],  $puž-u-nkk$ -  $> pu-k$ - 'to boil' [3540],  $muz-u-nk$ -  $> mu-nn$ - 'to dive' [4096]. Emeneau cites 21 instances under this class. Three items show loss with compensatory lengthening of the radical vowel, e.g.  $^*už-u-kk$ -  $> ūk$ - 'to comb' [593] (see Krishnamurti 2001a: 71).

Emeneau has treated the Brahui developments in two papers (1971b, 1980). Supplementing my earlier treatment,  $^*z > r/r$  (5 cases),  $z > lh$  (one) and loss with compensatory lengthening in one (1968, repr in 2001: 57, 74-5), he adds the following:

7. a.  $^*z > r$  (3 items: [4160, 4183b, 3168])

b.  $^*z > d$  (1: [4193])

c.  $^*z > \emptyset$  (4 items including the one I gave)

d.  $^*z > l/lh$  (3 with  $lh$ , 1 with  $l$ )

The conditions governing multiple developments are not recoverable.

**1.6 Toda non-initial vowels:** Emeneau (1979) deals with the loss of non-initial vowels in Toda. While all short vowels except  $-i$  are lost, long vowels become short, and these short vowels are not lost. Loss and shortening rules occur in counter-feeding order; e.g.  $^*kel-awu$  'few'  $> \text{To. } kīs$ , but  $^*nel-āwu$  'moon'  $> nes$ -of,  $^*ell-ām$  'all'  $> \text{To. } el$ -om. These rules explain the history of many grammatical constructions in both derivation and inflection.

**1.7 Developments of PD  $^*c$ -:** In a monograph length paper (1988), Emeneau surveys the developments of PD  $^*c$ -. He made certain observations on the



assumed phonetics of PD \*c which I skip. In the second part of the article (§§9-29, 1994: 350-69), the sporadic developments of \*c- to Ø-, t-, k- have been discussed in great detail. He considers the sound changes that he discussed in his 1961 paper (Rules 2a,b, c) were sporadic and not regular. He also notes that several of irregular changes of \*c- > Ø-, t- could be treated as instances of lexical diffusion of sound changes which got arrested midway (§12, p. 352). 'It must, however, be that the evidence indicates that the loss of \*c- is found in only a small part of the lexicon, and that it tends to affect each item differently over the various parts of the whole SD. (and Telugu) area ... a neo-grammarians type of treatment is inadequate.' (p. 355). It is not easy for traditional historical linguists to compromise on the neo-grammarians doctrine of sound change. Emeneau has shown that he is open to new ideas.

**1.8 The palatalization rule revised:** Emeneau (1995) re-examined Burrow's palatalization rules (1943) and proposed a revision (see Krishnamurti 2003: 128-9):

Burrow's rules:

(8) a. \*k > c / #\_\_ [+V, \_\_ (back) (Telugu)

b. \*k > c / #\_\_ [V<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>] (V<sub>1</sub> = [(back], C<sub>2</sub> ≠ retroflex consonant)  
(pre-Tamil)

The sound change occurred in Telugu and Tamil-Malayālam, independently, because the environments are different. Tamil and Malayālam palatalize, if the \*k- is not followed by a retroflex consonant in the next syllable. E. Annamalai (1968) has provided solid evidence for the non-operation of the palatalization rule in echo-words. In a recent article, Emeneau (1995) has illustrated the non-operation of palatalization in several forms, which had an alveolar as C<sub>2</sub> in pre-Tamil. Therefore, the environment in Rule 8b can be generalized to include alveolars also, i.e. C<sub>2</sub> ≠ [+apical]. Examples:

PD \*key 'to do, make, create'. SD I: Ta. Ma. *cey*, To. *kiy*, Ko. *key*, *gey*, Koḍ. *key*, Tu. *geyi*-, *gai*-; SD II: Te. *cēy*-, Go. *kiy*-, *kī*-, Koṇḍa *ki*-, Kui *ki*-, *gi*-, Kuvi *kī*-, Pe. *ki*-, Manda *ki*-; CD: Pa. Oll. Gad. *key*; ND: Br. *ḱē*- [1957].

PD \**ket-u* 'to perish, decay, be spoiled'. SD: Ta. Ma. *ket-u*, Ko. *ker-*, To. *kör-*, Kod. *kēd-* 'to be spoiled', Ka. *kedu*, *kidu* (*kett-*); SD II: Te. *cedu* [1942].

PD \**kil-i* 'parrot'. SD I: Ta. Ma. *kili*, To. Ko. *kily*, Kod. *gini*, Ka. Tu. *gili*, *gini*; SD II: Te. *ciluka*; (Go. *sirī*, Koṇḍa *sira*, Pe. *hira* are plausibly loanwords from Pre-Telugu in the form \**cili* > \**sili*; CD: Pa. *kil*, Gad. *killin* [1584].

PD \**kic-V kic-V* 'chirping, squeaking' (onomatopoetic expression). SD I: Ta. Ma. *kiccu kiccu*, *kīccu*, Ka. *kica kica*, Tu. *kicikici* n. 'screaming', *kāc-* 'to squeak'; SD II: Te. *kicakica* adv., *kīcurāyi* 'an insect making noise'. These illustrate the above rules of Burrow.

Emeneau (1995:((5-17) has noticed that in Ta. and Ma. even alveolars /*t tt nt l n r*/ have blocked palatalization in a considerable number of cases in Ta. Ma., if not all. He gives five examples with *r*, one with *n* and two with *l* as C<sub>2</sub>, Ta. *kirāvu* 'to cry' [1590], *kirukku*, *kēnam* 'craziness' [1596, 2021], *kil* 'to be able' [1570], etc. There are cases of non-palatalization in Telugu, but these look like early borrowings from Kannada in the literary texts, *kelasamu* 'work' [1970], *kelanu* 'side' [1969] (cf. Ka. *kelasa*, *kela*); several expressives are anyway exceptions to palatalization: Ta. *kila kila* [1575], Ta. *kira kira* [1593]; for another expressive, Emeneau reconstructs a voiced stop for PSD \**giru giru* [1595] 'go round and round' with cognates from Ka. Tu. and Te. Further, Emeneau cites six forms where the palatalization rule is not blocked even when C<sub>2</sub> is an alveolar, *ceri* 'be tight, crowded', *ceru* 'to control' [1980], *cirukku* 'be angry with' [1597] with cognates from Ka. Te. Kui and Br. which, according to Emeneau, are related to \**kin-* 'to be angry': Ta. *cinā* v.i. 'be angry', Ta. Ma. *cinam* 'anger', Ka. *kinisu*, Te. *kiniyu* 'be angry' [1600], Ta. *ceru* (*cerr-*) 'to kill' [1981], Ta. *cil-/cir-* 'small' (< \**kil-/kir-* [1571, 1594] with cognates mainly from SD I, Ta. *cil* 'sound, noise' (< \**kil-*) [1574], Ta. *cil* 'small piece' [1577], Ta. *cēru* 'mud' (< \**kec-at-*), [2020], Ta. *cēnai* 'yam' (< \**kēn-*) [2022]. In two entries, Ma. *kir-* lacks palatalization [1591, 1562]. Two more cases where \*-*r* seems to block palatalization are Ta. *kī ri* 'mongoose' [1614], *kīrai* 'greens' [1617].

It is important to note that most of the instances where palatalization is blocked seem to be confined to South Dravidian I. Emeneau's paper gives one more reason for alveolars and retroflexes to be grouped as a natural class at the proto-level. In the case of Kodagu and the Nilgiri languages, we



have noticed that vowel-centralization is caused by the following retroflexes and alveolars, mainly *\*t*. (Krishnamurti 1975; Emeneau 1995:407-8).

There is a more recent paper, in which Emeneau (2000) gives a comprehensive account of the origin of Kota *-j(-)*, which I am skipping because of time and space considerations.

## 2. Comparative Morphology

**2.1 The Dravidian verbs 'come' and 'give':** Emeneau (1945), in his first English paper on Dravidian, discusses the phonological and morphological irregularities of two verbs *\*va-* 'to come' and *\*ta-* 'to give'; in Old Tamil, they are used only with the 1st and 2nd subjects; the usage is still retained in Malayalam, in which *cel* and *koṭu* are used complementarily in the third person, respectively (Ramaswami Aiyar 1947). This is a complicated paper, but Emeneau has not referred to the ideas expressed in this paper in his later writings. I reconstruct PD *\*waH-r-* and *\*taH-r-* to account for all irregularities in phonology and morphology (Krishnamurti 1997: §4.2). A PD laryngeal explains *\*wā-*, *\*tā-* as well as the semivowel *-y* in several languages (*-y* < *-H*), etc.

**2.2 Kinship terms:** In 'Dravidian kinship terms' (1953b), Emeneau discovered 'inalienable possession' underlying certain kinship terms in Dravidian, e.g. Ta. *en-kai* (*em-kay*) 'our sister'. This phenomenon occurs in SD I, Gondi, Kuvi, Kolami, and Kurux, so it can be reconstructed to Proto-Dravidian. In Telugu and Konda also we notice it but as a syntactic construction and not as a morphological complex, e.g. Te. *mā amma* 'my mother', Konda *mā yāya* id. (*mā* 'our' in both).

**2.3 Numerals:** In a 1957 article, Emeneau notes the analogical replacement of *ḍ* by *ḍ* in Kota *eyḍ* 'two' (PSD *eraṇṭ-*) on the model of *oḍ* 'one' (PSD *\*on-t*) and *mūṇḍ* 'three' (< *\*mū-nt*). Emeneau reconstructs the PD forms of all numerals one to ten in this article and explains the phonological developments. He notes that even basic numerals like 'one' and 'two' may also be borrowed and cannot strictly be considered 'non-cultural' items as maintained by Swadesh.

**2.4 Dravidian demonstratives:** Emeneau (1961a, 1980a) examines the Brahui demonstratives first and looks at some possible areal features in demonstratives in Indo-Aryan, Dravidian and Munda. But the results are

inconclusive. PD has *\*i/\*ī*, *\*u/\*ū*, *\*a/\*ā* from proximate to remote. The South Central Dravidian shows a deviant series: Kui *i e a o*, Kuvi *i e he hu*, Pengo *i e/he a*, Kurux *i hu a*, Go. *i/e a*. Two points are clear; the SC'D languages have innovated *e* in the place of PD *\*u/\*ū*. The *h*-element that occurs freely varying with  $\emptyset$  in several languages (Gondi, Pengo, Kurux, Malto) is explained as an expressive *ʔ/h* by Emeneau. On the basis of Early Tamil *āytam* in *aḥ-tu* 'that', *iḥ-tu* 'this', the alternation of *aḥ-*, *iḥ-* with *ā*, *ī*, the Middle Ka. forms *hāge*, *hīge*, etc. the free-variation of *h*-/ $\emptyset$ - in Gondi, Kurux, Malto - and more data led me to reconstruct a laryngeal *\*H* for Proto-Dravidian, which explains the phenomenon more neatly than any other (see Krishnamurti 1997b).

**2.5 Brahui verb stems with *n*-/*r*- alternation:** Chapter III of Emeneau 1962b (reprinted in 1994) deals with ten Brahui verb stems with *n/r*-alternation; *-n/-nn* allomorphs occur before the infinitive *-ing* and the *-r/-rr* allomorphs occur before present non-finite *-isa* and probable future *-ō* (+ personal suffixes), and the imperative second singular. This study isolates the Dravidian element in the conjugation system of these basic verbs and illustrates how borrowed elements integrate with inherited ones in the course of language change, e.g. the verb 'do' has three allomorphs: *kē-* (Dravidian), *kar-* (Indo-Aryan), *kan-* (Iranian). Two observations: the past stem of *mann-* 'to become' is *mas-*, of *bann-* 'to come' *bas-*. Here, the past marker *-s/-ss* is traceable to PD *\*-cc*, which also occurs in Kurux and Malto, with or without another marker *-k*, e.g. Kur. *ci?*- 'to give' : *ci-cc-*, Malto *ci-*: *ci-c-*. Brahui negative paradigm with *-p/-pp* in non-past and *-t/-tt* in past suggest the erstwhile grammatical function of these suffixes in Proto-Dravidian. (Krishnamurti 1994 xx, 2001: 109-10, 2003: 299).

**2.6 The South Dravidian languages (1967):** This paper uses the past tense markers as a criterion in sub-grouping the SD languages minus Kannada. He did not include Tulu in South Dravidian. Kodagu is shown to split earlier than the sub-branch, Toda-Kota. All these languages (minus Kannada) share the past tense morphs *\*i*, *\*tt*, *\*nt* (the last two, Emeneau phonemicizes as *\*t* *\*nd*). They also share, in one class of stems, a feature of intransitive-transitive opposition signalled by *\*-nt* : *\*-ntt* (*nd* : *t*). These are called Class 7 verbs in Tamil (Arden, Class 12 in *Tamil Lexicon*), e.g. *naṭ-a* 'to walk': *naṭa-nt-* past intransitive, *naṭa-tt-* (< *\*naṭa-ntt-*) past transitive. Emeneau said that this feature was an innovation in this sub-group before the rule of palatalization sets off Ta. -Ma. from Toda-Kota-Kodagu. I consider this feature a retention of a relic state of Proto-Dravidian rather than an innovation



in pre-Tamil and I gave my arguments in Krishnamurti 1994: §2.3.2, p. xxi and 2003: p. 294-6, also ch. 5). The main argument is that it would be more natural, in an agglutinative language, for the grammatical functions tense and voice to arise as separate categories, by simplification, from a complex stage, rather than merge these into a complex category. There is supporting evidence that these morphs got incorporated as stem extensions, losing the tense meaning first and the meaning of voice later. Therefore, we get trisyllabic stems like *tir-u-nt-*: *tir-u-tt-* in Tamil as intr.-tr pairs. Notice complete loss of the inflectional meaning in Kui *n̄nd-* 'to be steady': Ta. *iru-* (*iru-nt-*) 'to be' (see Subrahmanyam 1971:204-6). Similar cases of incorporation of verb inflections into the stem as formatives have been illustrated in Krishnamurti 1997, 2003: Ch.5.

**2.7 Noun formatives:** Emeneau 1968 is a ground-breaking paper in identifying and reconstructing some noun derivational suffixes in South Dravidian. Very little work has been done on the *kṛt* and *taddhita* suffixes in Dravidian: Ka. *-kuli/-kuni*, Ta. *-talai*, Ka. *-tale*, To. *-tas/-θas*, Te. *-dala*, and Ta. *-uḷ* have been comparatively studied.

**2.8 Verb stem formation:** Emeneau 1975 is a comprehensive study of formative suffixes in verb stems. Formatives consisting of *-V + semi-vowel/liquid* (*y, r, l, ɭ, z*) happen to be intransitives in most languages and Emeneau concurs with Krishnamurti's observation of this phenomenon (TVB 1961: §2.38, pp. 146-7) and suggests that grammatical morphs had lost their original meaning and became mere stem extensions in the course of time. Emeneau further considers the 'plural action' markers (*-k, -p, -v, -b*) in Kui-Kuvi 'frequentatives-intensives' in Pengo-Maṇḍa (with traces in Gondi, Koṇḍa) as a Proto-Dravidian feature preserved in a few languages of this subgroup with loss of its original meaning in all other languages and subgroups. I have discussed this at length and showed that it was an innovation in these languages by attributing a meaning to original non-past suffixes (see Krishnamurti 1994: xxii-xiv, 1997a: §7, 2001a: 302-4). What is crucial is the total structural identity between plural action morphs and stem formatives in non-past paradigms (infinitive, present participle) in these languages, Emeneau correctly identifies the 'motion particle' *-kk-* in Kui-Kuvi-Pengo as PD non-past marker given a new meaning.

**2.9** Besides the above there are many etymological studies by Emeneau which necessarily include observations on aspects of phonology and morphology which I have decided not to include in this short survey.

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## **DRAVIDIAN PHONOLOGY CONTRIBUTION OF PROFESSOR M.B. EMENEAU**

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### **1. The Dravidian languages**

Among the contributions of India to the existing knowledge in language sciences, two of the areas acquire prominence in the present context, namely, phonetics- phonology and comparative linguistics. The concern of our ancients with *dhwani/sabda* or *sol* led them to establish and propose a theory of phonetics, which formed an indispensable foundation for modern phonemics/phonology. The Indian orthography is designed on a scientific criterion representing physiology of speech production, which came to be known later as articulatory phonetics. The speech sounds are organised from the inner-to-outer organs of speech. (i.e., from glottal or velar to labial). When compared to this, the alphabetic system of Western scholarship looks arbitrary, devoid of any logic. The culmination of this Indian concern is amply reflected in the descriptive phonetics of Panini's *Ashtadhyayi* or in the *sol adikaaram* of *Tolkaappiam*.

Similarly, the concept of comparative study of languages with a goal of fixing their genetic affinity emanated from India. After a detailed comparison of Sanskrit with Greek and Latin, Sir William Jones in his address of 1786 to the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal at Calcutta proposed that all the three languages had a common source, which is no longer in existence. This breakthrough led to the establishment of the Indo-European family in particular and comparative linguistics in general which later ruled the roster throughout the 19th century and in the succeeding century.

The Dravidian hypothesis was speculated and put forward by F.W. Ellis in his introduction to A.D. Campbell's grammar of Telugu, published in 1816. He identified six languages - Tamil, Telugu, Kannada, Malayalam, Tulu and Kodagu as related to each other and distinct (or separate) from

Sanskrit. This hypothesis was further pursued by Bishop Robert Caldwell in his magnum opus *A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South Indian Family of Languages* (1856) and argued for, substantially, establishing a whole new field of linguistics in India. Caldwell recognises and enumerates 12 Dravidian languages and bifurcates them as cultivated and uncultivated, the former consisting of Tamil, Malayalam, Kannada, Telugu, Tulu and Kodagu; and the latter comprising Tuda (Toda), Kota, Gond (Gondi) Khond (Kui), Oraon (Kurux) and Rajmahal or Maler (Malto).

By the time of Grierson's *Linguistic Survey of India* (1906), three more languages - Kuvi, Kolami and Brahui were identified and added to the list. During the period between 1950 and 1980, some intensive fieldwork was carried out on lesser-known languages in central and southern India (cf. Ramakrishna Reddy, 2001) which has enhanced our knowledge of the Dravidian, leading to the identification of a number of languages by the scholars. These include T. Burrow and S. Bhattacharya: Parji - 1950; Pengo - 1950-58 and Manda 1964; S. Bhattacharya: Naiki - 1950; Gadaba - 1951 and Konda - 1951; D.N.S. Bhat: Koraga - 1964; G. Diffloth: Irula - 1968 and B. Ramakrishna Reddy: Indi-Awe - 1979.

There are also other minor speeches noticed in Tamil Nadu and Kerala whose status as to language or dialect is not yet established. These include Kasaba, Kadar, Urali, Kurumba, and Muduga. With nearly 25 languages, Dravidian is not just a "South Indian family of languages" as was envisaged by Caldwell, but a typical South Asian family with its members spread over Pakistan, Nepal, India and Sri Lanka, apart from the migrants and settlers in other parts of the globe. Among the 25 languages of the Dravidian family - Telugu, Tamil, Kannada and Malayalam are major literary languages and are recognized by the constitution of India, while the rest are minor non-literary languages with rich oral traditions.

Many scholars such as Jules Bloch, Thomas Burrow, M.B. Emeneau, T.P. Meenakshisundaram, L.V. Ramaswamy Aiyar, Suniti Kumar Chatterji, S. Bhattacharya, D.N.S. Bhat, V.I. Subramoniam, M. Andronov, Kamil V. Zvelebil, Bh. Krishnamurti, P.S. Subrahmanyam, S.V. Shanmugam, B. Ramakrishna Reddy and others have contributed to the enrichment of Dravidian studies dealing with either identification or classification and description of the languages. Systematic field investigations from the mid-20th century have provided a basis for advances in the comparative and



historical study of these languages (Krishnamurti, 2003; Emeneau, 1962; and Subrahmanyam, 1971).

## 2. Approaches to phonology

Phonology is the study of sound system and structure (or patterns) of language. It is "concerned with the sounds of language and their function, behaviour, and organisation as linguistic items as opposed to phonetics, which is rather a more neutral study of the sounds themselves as phenomena in the physical world, and the physiological, anatomical, neurological and psychological properties of human beings that make them" (Lass 1984). Lass is of the opinion that the distinction between the two related fields of the same subject (i.e. linguistics) is not of that sharp or clear-cut where one can talk about linguistic phonetics and 'experimental phonology'. We can neither study the function of sounds in language without reference to their articulatory and/or acoustic properties, nor can we study sounds in a vacuum with no reference to their linguistic function. He stresses that phonology is a very phonetic field and one may define it as the combination of universal phonetics and language - specific phonetics, with an emphasis on the interaction of these two areas with linguistic structure in general. John Ohala is also of the opinion that phonetics and phonology interact with each other but with no interface between the two (Ohala, 1990, 1991). However, there have been proposals and attempts to study interface of phonology with morphology and/or syntax. It has been most appropriately stated that the function of phonology is to relate phonetic events of speech to grammatical events operating at the morphological, lexical, syntactic and semantic levels of language (Laver, 1994).

Most approaches to phonology before the 1960's were centred around the phoneme. Daniel Jones developed a theory of phoneme wherein he talked about chronemes (distinctive length), stronemes (distinctive stress) and tonemes (distinctive tones) and insisted that what the post-Bloomfieldians called phonemics formed part of phonetics and refused to recognize a separate discipline called phonemics. Phonology is generally used by contemporary linguists of other schools who do not recognize or operate with phonemes, for example, the generativists. Contemporary linguists are concerned with basic similarities across languages rather than how different they are from one another. Languages were found to be identical exhibiting only a small range of variation. Inadequacies of taxonomic theory were resolved in the theory of generative phonology. There is also a

plea to move away from the SPE model and to recognize different frameworks. New theories were developed, such as natural generative phonology, stratificational phonology, upside-down phonology, and atomic phonology, among others.

One can also find historical perspectives on the 20th century phonology in Anderson (1985) surveys of current theoretical work in Goldsmith (1989) and Durand (1990). Alternate approaches to phonology include Natural phonology, Autosegmental phonology, Prosodic phonology, Multi-segmental phonology, Metrical phonology, Moraic phonology, Dependency phonology, Government phonology, Declarative phonology, Particle phonology, CV phonology or Syllable phonology, Lexical phonology and others (Dinnesen, 1979; Hogg and Cully, 1987; Hooper, 1976; Kaise and Shaw, 1985). These are developed to capture supra-segmental aspects of segments for which syllable is considered as an important unit of phonological representation which did not have any formal status in earlier generative phonology. They also recognise that phonology can depend on morphological and syntactic structures, principally by boundaries and cycle. Examples of these approaches are Metrical phonology, CV (syllable) phonology and others. (See Dinnesen ed. 1979; Goldsmith, 1989; and Clements & Keyser, 1983). These are alternative approaches to segmental phonology to represent supra-segmental phenomenon of speech and language.

The contextual dependence of language led Firth to recognize Prosodic phonology, which provides phonological description of a language by a polysystemic statement in terms of structure, which refers to the syntagmatic relations and system, which refers to the paradigms of comparable and contrastive elements related to the various places of structure. This approach permits the setting up of separate phonological systems for grammatical systems wherever this is relevant. Prabodhachandran Nayar (1972) follows this approach for the phonological analysis and description of Malayalam and discusses polysystemic approach in terms of syntagmatic versus paradigmatic structure and system and their interdependence within linguistic levels. In one of his papers, Prakasam also uses this approach for phonological analysis of Telugu.

Since phonology is concerned with more than the pronunciation of individual words, the lexical phonology is confined to specifying the pronunciation of individual words. The post-lexical phonology includes aspects of the pronunciation of phrases and sentences. An important phonological



description in the framework of lexical phonology is by Mohanan (1987) on Malayalam. According to this theory of lexical phonology, phonological rules can apply at different levels. It deals with the relationship between phonology, morphology and lexicon in terms of rules and post-lexical rules.

Natural phonology or the natural generative phonology looks at the structure and abilities of human vocal and perceptual system, and perceptual processes are in turn governed by the articulatory and perceptual realities of phonological features. Among Dravidian languages distinctive feature analysis of Telugu, Tamil, etc., is available. Most of the Dravidian scholars deal with morphophonemics/morphophonology, which is now being treated under morphology - phonology interface (Szpyra, 1989, Inkelas and Zec 1990). These approaches capture phonemic shapes of morphemes. Database of this kind is available for some of the Dravidian languages in terms of rule representations of alternations such as assimilation, dissimilation, alternations between segments (such as vowel shortening, raising, and fronting), metathesis, coalescence and split deletion (apocope and syncope, degemination, post nasal, stop loss) insertion and reduplication. An exhaustive analysis of all these processes is given for individual languages like Tamil (Asher, 1982) and Kannada (Sridhar, 1990).

Tamil *aytam* has drawn the attention of the ancient as well as modern scholars. The traditional grammars of Tamil right from *Tolkaappiam* onwards have been dealing with this problem. Tamil script provides a written symbol of this sound. According to Tolkaappiar, *aytam* occurs (i) after a radical short vowel and before a voiceless consonant, followed by a vowel (ii) it assumes the same point of articulation as the following stop. The Alpha-Phonoid theory proposed by C.R. Sankaran was triggered by the characteristics of Tamil *aytam* and he dealt with it at length in his writings. Krishnamurti (1997), on the strength of comparative evidence concludes that the early Tamil *aytam* is a relic reflex of Proto-Dravidian laryngeal \*H, and he identifies its cognates as well as alternation with compensatory length in modern Dravidian languages. He proposes to describe this phenomenon as a glottal voiceless semi-vowel.

Ucida (1993) studies Kannada, Tamil and Telugu data and provides statistical chart of phonetic details of different speakers of the same language by using printing program 'CATUR' available at Tokyo University. He appears to be not aware of individual contributions with reference to socio-phonetic and phonological phenomena for instance of major

Dravidian languages. Sjoberg's (1957) phonology of a Telugu dialect is an example of this. In her paper on "co-existent phonemic systems in Telugu: A socio-cultural perspective" (1962), she presents significant differences in the phonemes of formal and informal speech in relation to juncture, stress and pitch as well.

From the perspectives of sociolinguistics, the phonological systems of literary languages show certain differences on the following dichotomies (Nagamma Reddy, 1995):

- (i) Spoken versus written variety
- (ii) Standard versus non-standard
- (iii) Formal versus informal
- (iv) Educated versus uneducated

These types of social distinctions have created coexistent phonemic systems in Telugu, Kannada and Tamil. The works of Shanmugam Pillai, S.V. Shanmugam, Karunakaran and others on Tamil, A.K. Ramanujan, and William Bright on Kannada, Bh. Krishnamurti, N. Sivaramamurti, B. Radhakrishna and Sjoberg on Telugu are worth mentioning in this context. Nagamma Reddy has been investigating the sociophonetics of spoken Telugu with the aid of instruments. Socio-phonology of Dravidian languages is yet to be worked out. Among Dravidian languages, Tamil has the distinction of exhibiting triglossia. The functional differences among the three styles are more prominent in the phonology and lexicon than in grammar. Even the non-literary languages like Toda, Kuvi and Manda indicate phonological variation in ritual versus ordinary spoken style, apart from archaic vocabulary.

### 3. Orthography and phonology

Symbols representing phonemes need to be revised and organised with systematic charts in order to reflect the pronunciation patterns of the native speakers. Some Dravidian languages have scripts of their own and others i.e. minor languages have no script. The languages, which do have a script show that there is no one-to-one correspondence between grapheme and phoneme (i.e. letter and sound). Graphemes are either more or less than the phonemes of a language. There have been several attempts suggesting



reforms in the writing system of these languages, which are ignored by authorities and conventional scholars, as script is equated with language in the Indian continent. With the advent of computer technology, the digitalization of the scripts of four Dravidian languages is attempted with useful results and reforms. Some non-literary languages use the script of the major Dravidian languages. One and the same language (for example, Brahui) uses different scripts in different places. Correspondence between the graphemes and phonemes in Dravidian languages requires an in-depth systematic study, which will not be discussed in this paper.

This paper is concerned with the phonology of Dravidian languages, referring to certain aspects of general theory of phonology in general and Dravidian in particular.

#### 4. Phonological system of Dravidian languages

In Dravidian languages, words can begin or end with a vowel or a consonant. Most phonological descriptions of Dravidian languages are in the taxonomic (i.e., structural linguistic) model, which look into the following three major aspects:

- i) **Phoneme inventory** - what phonemes does a language or group of languages have.
- ii) **Allophonic rules** - allophones for each member of the inventory.
- iii) **Phonotactics** - statements of permissible strings of phonemes (e.g., clusters, sequences, distributional restrictions, syllable types etc).

#### Phoneme Inventory

The inventory of phonemes in Dravidian varies from proto-Dravidian to modern Dravidian languages as follows:

**4.1. Vowel phonemes:** Proto-Dravidian consists of only five short and five corresponding long vowels (Krishnamurti, 2003) as shown below.

**Table 1: Proto-Dravidian vowel phonemes**

Front	Back
i, i:	u, u:
e, e:	o, o:
a, a:	

As can be seen in Table 1, the vowel phonemes in Dravidian are predominantly front unrounded and back rounded. Toda (Emeneau, 1984) appears to be an exception to this. Furthermore, it has front rounded and back unrounded and central rounded vowel phonemes as shown in Table 2. It is to the credit of Emeneau to notice for the first time that unlike common Dravidian, Toda has certain unique features such as front rounded vowels and back unrounded vowels.

**Table 2: Vowel phonemes of Toda (Emeneau, 1984)**

	Front		Central		Back
	unrounded	rounded	rounded	unrounded	rounded
High	<i>i, i:</i>	<i>ü, ü:</i>	<i>ĩ, ĩ:</i>		<i>u, u:</i>
Mid	<i>e, e:</i>		<i>õ, õ:</i>		<i>o, o:</i>
Low				<i>a, a:</i>	

Kurux (Ekka, 1985) still shows a larger system of vowel phonemes of 20 with the contrast of short-long, and nasalized - oral (cf. Table 3).

**Table 3: Vowel phonemes of Kurux (Ekka, 1985)**

	Front				Back			
	Oral		Nasalized		Oral		Nasalized	
	Short	Long	Short	Long	Short	Long	Short	Long
High	<i>I</i>	<i>i:</i>	<i>ĩ</i>	<i>ĩ:</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>u:</i>	<i>ũ</i>	<i>ũ:</i>
Higher Mid	<i>E</i>	<i>e:</i>	<i>ẽ</i>	<i>ẽ:</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>o:</i>	<i>õ</i>	<i>õ:</i>
Low					<i>a</i>	<i>a:</i>	<i>ā</i>	<i>ā:</i>

A variety of vowel inventories, thus, is found among Dravidian languages. Observation on the classificatory system of Dravidian languages suggests that basic parameters of most vowel systems have to be distinguished between high and low (i.e. close and open), front and back, rounded and unrounded. All languages have three degrees of vowel height. Phonetically there are possibilities of six vowel heights (see Ekka, 1985).

With regard to front-back dimension, Dravidian languages differentiate between front, central and back. In the descriptive as well as comparative analyses of the Dravidian vowels *a* and *a:* are treated as central vowels, for example Krishnamurti (2003: chs. 2 and 4). In fact, these two are back



vowels, as Emeneau states for Kolami (1961: 6) that "these two are true back vowels." Similarly for Toda, Emeneau describes that "these two vowels are fairly far back in most occurrences" (1984:6). Inclusion of these two vowels as central vowels between front and back in vowel chart misleads the scholars indicating a three-way contrast, whereas Dravidian shows only a two-way contrast. An instrumental phonetic study of these vowels in Telugu also confirms the statement(s) made by Emeneau (cf. Nagamma Reddy, 1986). We require phonologically two degrees of height in front vowels and three degrees of height in back vowels, although some languages have indicated vowel /æ/ as a (marginal) phoneme, which is again a controversial issue, because it contrasts with other vowels at the grammatical level. This needs further research and clarification (Nagamma Reddy, 2004).

Front vowels are usually unrounded and back vowels are usually rounded. However, as shown, strikingly by Emeneau in Toda, front vowels with a rounded lip position and back vowels without lip rounding are found. The exact relationship between height and rounding is not known. Only two lip positions are noted in Dravidian. The feature rounding is contrastive only in some languages (e.g. Toda, Tulu and Koraga). Retroflex vowels are also found in Badaga, Toda and Kodagu. There are other features that may be used to increase the number of distinctions. These are nasalization and length. Some Dravidian languages also distinguish between nasalized and oral vowels similar to Indo-Aryan. For example, the vowel system is complemented by another 10 nasalized vowels in Kuvi, Kui and Kurux. All languages have length as inherent feature. They distinguish between short and long vowels. Most languages have quantity distinction in all the three heights but in Brahui the length distinction is found only in the high and low vowels, though only two degrees of contrast in length has been noticed in general in Dravidian, we may need to distinguish between three degrees of length in Dravidian, in such examples as *aka:ram(u)* 'the letter a', *a:ka:ram(u)* 'shape', and *a:ka:ram(u)* 'that hot chilly' in Telugu (Nagamma Reddy, 1999) and Dravidian languages. In Telugu, length plays an important role in distinguishing morphological, syntactic and semantic structures (Nagamma Reddy, 1994). An appropriate phonological approach to deal with this phenomenon of length in Telugu seems to be a prosodic morphology, which looks at connection between phonology and morpho-syntax. If only when the grammar was considered in the analysis, from a phonological viewpoint the suprasegmental features such as length could be adequately accounted for.

The major and minor (summary) features of vowel quality in Dravidian are shown in Table 4.

**Table 4: Major and minor features of vowels in Dravidian**

**a. Major features**

Vowel Height	Front-Back dimension	Rounding (Lip position)	Length
High	Front	Rounded	Short
Mid	Central	Unrounded	Long
Low	Back		

**b. Additional minor vowel features**

Retroflexion	Nasalization
High	Front
Mid	Central
Low	Back

As length is inherent to Dravidian vowel system and all languages have length contrast, it is shown as a major feature with basic parameters than as an additional feature of minor quality, though the latter is used in the specification of sounds of the world languages (Ladefoged 1996).

Other additional minor vowel features required are nasalization and retroflexion. In a group of languages, nasalized vowels occur as counterpart of the oral vowels. Retroflexion in Badaga (Emeneau, 1939) has a three-way contrast of the five vowel qualities *i, e, a, o, u*, each of which can be normal, half-retroflex, or fully-retroflex. Emeneau offers perceivable evidence for all the fifteen vowels being phonologically contrast.

**Diphthongs as clusters and unit phonemes**

Representation of diphthongal vowels in Dravidian languages needs a reinvestigation. Phonetically these are true diphthongs. The diphthongs are treated as long vowels metrically in literary languages because of their equivalence to long vowels in prolongation of articulation (Krishnamurti, 2003). Phonologically, they are considered by some scholars as sequences of a vowel + consonant glide and by others as single unit phonemes. Interpretation of diphthongs requires further research from the viewpoint of syllabification and vowel shift alternations. Instrumental study of Telugu diphthongs indicates that they can be considered as single phonemes similar to long vowels.



4.2 Consonant phonemes

Consonant phonemes are discussed according to 1. Place of articulation, 2. Manner of articulation, 3. Voicing, 4. Aspiration, 5. Retroflexion, 6. Length (i.e. gemination) and their phonotactic possibilities. The Proto-Dravidian consists of the following consonantal phonemes (cf. Table 5).

Table 5: Proto-Dravidian consonant phonemes

	Labial	Dental	Alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar
Plosives	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i><u>t</u></i>	<i>T</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>k</i>
Nasals	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>		<i>N</i>	<i>ñ</i>	
Laterals			<i>l</i>	<i>L</i>		
Trill			<i>r</i>			
Glides	<i>w</i>			<i>Z</i>	<i>y</i>	

Modern Dravidian languages consist of more than double the number of consonants when compared with Proto-Dravidian. For example, as shown on Table 6 there are 35 consonants in Toda and on Table 7, there are as many as 43 consonants (Malayalam). Table 8 represents the entire consonant phonemes of Dravidian languages which are 54 in number.

Table 6: Consonant phonemes of Toda (Emeneau, 1984)

	L		D		PD		A		AP		R		V	
Stop and affricate	<i>p</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>z</i>	<i><u>t</u></i>	<i><u>d</u></i>	<i>c</i>	<i>j</i>	<i><u>t</u></i>	<i><u>d</u></i>	<i>k</i>	<i>g</i>
Nasal	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i><u>n</u></i>											
Fricative and Trill	<i>f</i>		<i>θ</i>				<i><u>r</u></i>				<i><u>r</u></i>		<i>x</i>	
Lateral							<i>l</i>				<i><u>l</u></i>			
							<i>l</i>				<i><u>l</u></i>			
Sibilant					<i>s</i>		<i><u>s</u></i>		<i>š</i>	<i>ž</i>	<i><u>s</u></i>		<i><u>z</u></i>	
Trill					<i>r</i>									
Continuant									<i>y</i>				<i>w</i>	
Sibilants added in fast speech						<i>Z</i>	<i><u>z</u></i>							

[L = Labial, D = Dental, PD = Post-dental, A = Alveolar, AP = Alveolo-palatal and palatal, R = Retroflex, V = Velar]

Table 7: Consonant phonemes of Malayalam (Mohanani, 1987)

	L	D	A	AP	R	P	V	G
Occlusives	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>ɽ</i>	<i>kʼ</i>	<i>k</i>	
Voiceless Plain								
Aspirated	<i>ph</i>	<i>th</i>		<i>ch</i>	<i>ɽh</i>	<i>khʼ</i>	<i>kh</i>	
Voiced Plain	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>		<i>j</i>	<i>ɖ</i>	<i>gʼ</i>	<i>g</i>	
Aspirated	<i>bh</i>	<i>dh</i>		<i>jh</i>	<i>ɖh</i>	<i>ghʼ</i>	<i>gh</i>	
Fricatives			<i>s</i>	<i>ʃ</i>	<i>ʂ</i>			<i>h</i>
Nasals	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ɳ</i>	<i>ɲ</i>	<i>ɳ̠</i>	<i>ɳʼ</i>	<i>ɳ</i>	
Laterals			<i>ɭ</i>					
Vibrants			<i>ɹ</i>					
Glides	<i>w</i>			<i>y</i>	<i>r</i>			

[L = Labial, D = Dental, A = Alveolar, AP = Alveolo-palatal, R = Retroflex, P = Palatal, V = Velar, G = Glottal]

It is clear from the above tables (including Table 8 on the next page) representing the consonant phonemes that there is a great deal of variation among the consonants in each individual language or a group of languages.

#### 4.2.1 Places of articulation

Ladefoged and Maddieson (1991) have developed a complete phonological framework describing the organisation of the features that will account for the sounds of all languages of the world. They consider 17 phonological features specifying places of articulation. Dravidian languages appear to require at least 10 places of articulation: (1) Bilabial, (2) Labio-dental, (3) Dental, (4) Post-dental (i.e. denti-alveolar) (5) Alveolar, (6) Retroflex, (7) Palatal, (8) Velar, (9) Uvular and (10) Glottal. There are 10 distinct places of articulation based on observation of contrasts within individual languages of Dravidian.

#### 4.2.2 Manner of articulation

All languages have only the plosives and no other stops like ejectives, implosives and clicks as in Sindhi or in some other African languages. Dravidian plosives can contrast in voicing, aspiration, retroflexion and length. Four of the contrasting features of voicing, aspiration, retroflexion



Table 8: Consonant phonemes of Dravidian languages

		Bilabial		Labio-dental		Dental		Post-alveolar		Alveolar		Retroflex		Palatal		Velar		Uvular		Glottal	
		vl.	vd.	vl	vd	vl.	vd	vl	vd.	vl	vd	vl	vd.	vl	vd.	vl	vd	vl	vd	vl	vd
Plosives	Unasp.	p	b			t	d			t	d	t	ɖ			k	g	q	ʔ		
	Asp.	ph	bh			th	dh					ɖh	ɖh			kh	gh				
Affricates	Unasp.							ts	dz					c	j						
	Asp.													ɟh	ɟh						
Nasal		m				n					n		ɳ	ɳ	ɳ		ŋ				
Fricative				f	v	θ		s	z			ʃ		ʃ	ʒ	x	R	r	h		
Trill								ɽ			r										
Flap													ɾ								
Lateral										l		ɭ	ɭ								
Approximant			w												y						

and length in consonant system of Dravidian require certain comments or observations to be made.

Voicing

Dravidian consonants can contrast in voicing of the plosives, affricates, fricatives, laterals and trills. There is no voicing contrast in nasals and approximants. Most languages have voicing contrast in plosives and affricates. A few languages have voiced and voiceless contrast in fricatives (e.g. Kolami and Toda), trills (e.g. Konda) and laterals. (e.g. Toda and Brahui).

However, if we observe the phonological feature of voicing of plosives in Tamil and Telugu, both the languages fall into two different types. The Telugu (Te) system, by contrast to Tamil (Ta) system recognizes both voiced and voiceless series of plosives as illustrated for a bilabial place of articulation in Table 9. The relation would be the same for dental, retroflex, and velar articulations of plosives.

Table 9  
Phonological system and phonetic representation  
of bilabial plosives in Telugu and Tamil

Initial plosives                      Medial/intervocalic plosives  
with (homorganic) nasal      single                      geminate

(a) Te. system (aspirates excluded)

p	Np	p	pp
[p]	[mp]	[p]	[pp]
b	Nb	b	bb
[b]	[mb]	[b]	[bb]

(b) Ta. system

p	Np	p	pp
[p]	[mb]	[β]	[pp]

The symbols used to represent plosive phonemes in Tamil are not phonetic as in Telugu. Telugu has contrast in voicing, aspiration and length



in plosives (Nagamma Reddy, 1988). In Tamil there is neither aspiration nor length contrast, the voicing is also an allophonic feature associated with the short/long, fricative/plosive, flap/plosive and lenis (voiced)/fortis (voiceless) contrast rather than a distinctive feature. Ramanujan and Masica (1969) point out that Tamil has no voicing contrast in stops; it has only tense/lax or long/short opposition. However, Lisker's (1978) point of view is that the contrast in Tamil is rather between voiceless and voiced than between single and double. The discrepancy in the description of Tamil plosives originates from the perceptual importance given to a particular feature of contrast. Each orthographic symbol in Tamil also represents simultaneously a voiceless plosive, the corresponding voiced plosive and voiced fricative (e.g., [p], [b], [B]) whereas in Telugu there are four separate orthographic symbols to represent voiceless, voiced, aspirated and unaspirated plosives (e.g., [p], [b], [ph], [bh]). In Tamil, only voiced plosive occurs after nasal whereas in Telugu both voiced and voiceless are found. Furthermore, Telugu has contrast between short (single) and long (geminate) plosives both in voiced and voiceless.

In contrast with Telugu, in Tamil the phoneme symbol represents a fairly tense voiceless plosive initially, a fully tense voiceless plosive when single in intervocalic position. The fully tense plosive inter-vocally is long after a short vowel in a stressed syllable, otherwise it is said to be only half long. According to Rajaram (1972), there are five voiceless plosive phonemes /p, t, t̪, T and k/ which have allophones [b], [d], [d̪], [D] and [g] initially in the borrowed words and medially alternate with homorganic nasals. Plosive at each place of articulation has three allophones as demonstrated for a bilabial plosive below:

[p] occurs initially, and medially in clusters.

[b] occurs initially in borrowed words and medially after the homorganic nasal.

[β] occurs only in between vowels as a lax variety or variant.

The phonological voicing contrasts of the two languages have different phonetic categories involved. That is, the phonetic categories that contrast in voicing are not the same in the two languages. For example, in word medial position Telugu contrasts short voiced with short voiceless plosives and long voiced with long voiceless plosives, whereas Tamil contrasts

only a long voiceless plosive with a short voiced one. Although Tamil is said to have no voicing contrast in word-initial position, there are many loan words with word-initial voiced plosives which are rendered voiceless by the illiterates but pronounced as voiced by the educated speakers, for example, *balam* 'strength' and *gati* 'fate'. Spectrograms of such plosives in words are characterized by the presence of voice bar.

Thus, Tamil and Telugu have very different surface sound patterns. A simple phonemic analysis, which takes the voicing contrast between plosives to be a primitive feature of the system, will not reflect the distributional pattern of the concerned elements. In both the languages, however, plosives except the alveolar one, occur at the same places of articulation - bilabial, dental, post-alveolar (retroflex) and velar (palatal affricates excluded), in both word initial and medial positions, but not in word-final. There are also nasally, laterally released stops and affricate stops where the former are treated as bi-phonemes and the latter as unit phonemes in both the languages.

### Aspiration

Aspiration is another feature, which attracts attention in Dravidian, as there is a lot of variation in its use. Most of the Dravidian languages (like Indo-Aryan) have a series of voiced and voiceless aspirated stops contrasting with unaspirated ones. Some languages have aspiration in stops only while others in affricates also. There is no aspiration contrast found in Badaga, Kodagu, Kolami, Kota, Kuvi, Tamil, Tulu and Toda. Some other languages use aspiration in loan words only, such as Kannada, Telugu, Malayalam and Kurux. Single-geminated aspirated consonants can also contrast in Dravidian. The geminate aspirated consonants are characterized by long-stop closure followed by aspiration. They can be described as phonetically long aspirated consonants and phonologically treated as geminate aspirated consonants. The geminate aspirated consonants can also occur both as voiced and voiceless as in Telugu */mupphai/* 'thirty' and */debbhai/* 'seventy'. Phonemic correspondences across the Dravidian languages can be found in the works of Emeneau, Subrahmanyam, Andronov, and others.

### Retroflexion

Another most important characteristic feature of Dravidian languages is that they all have a series of retroflex consonants in all the manner



classes e.g. plosives (voiced-voiceless, aspirated-unaspirated and short-long), nasals, fricatives and laterals (Nagamma Reddy, 1986). Malayalam is interesting as it opposes the feature of retroflexion to both dentals and alveolars, as in *muttu* 'pearl' *muttu* density, *muTTu* 'knee'. There have also been some instrumental studies (articulatory and acoustic) of retroflex consonants. Balasubramanian (1972) and Nagamma Reddy (1981, 1986) have made a thorough instrumental investigation of retroflexes in Tamil and Telugu in various positions and contexts. The study by Nagamma Reddy (1984) deals with the exact place of articulation of retroflex plosives in Telugu and finds a systematic difference in their production due to difference in 1) vowel context, 2) length of the consonant, and 3) voicing of the consonant. The variation found in Hindi, Telugu and Tamil in the place of tongue contact and degree of retroflexion in producing retroflex plosives ranging from alveolar with very slight curling of the tongue to palatal with considerable retroflexion is found in Telugu itself. Retroflexion of consonants is an important typological feature of Indian languages.

### Length (gemination) of consonants

Almost all consonants (excluding certain fricatives, glottal stop and flap) can contrast in length. There are consonants which have a length distinction in voiced and voiceless unaspirated as well as aspirated plosives, affricates, nasals, trills, laterals and semi-consonants. They are phonetically long without a break between the consonants and treated phonologically as geminates in all the Dravidian languages belong to different syllables. The measurement of duration of geminate (i.e. long) consonants is three times longer than the corresponding single consonant. The voiceless plosive whether it is single, double or after homorganic nasal (as in Telugu *ata* 'it is said so', *atta* 'a wrapper', *anta* 'I will say so') is consistently and considerably longer than the corresponding voiced counterpart. The relationship or ratio in duration between voiced and voiceless single, geminate or after homorganic nasal remains the same.

Similarly the long aspirated voiceless and voiced plosives have the same relationship in duration in such items of Telugu as *mupphai* 'thirty' and *debbhai* 'seventy'. While the geminate aspirate has a long stop closure followed by homo-organic fricative 'h'. The duration between voiced and voiceless geminate affricate is similar to the other voiced and voiceless single, double, after homo-organic nasal consonants or aspirated stop consonants. Geminate affricates, similar to geminate aspirate, have no repeated or rearticulated articulatory movement. Though the Dravidian languages

have two distinctive length contrast in consonants, it is restricted to the medial positions assigned to preceding one and the following syllable. The third length is possible by further lengthening of consonants in emphatic stress.

#### 4.2.2.1 Plosives and affricates

Most languages have plosive consonants produced at 5 different places of articulation. It has been said (O'Connor, 1973) "that it is quite common for fricative system to have more places of articulation than the stops". This apparently is not the case with most of the Dravidian languages. However, Emeneau (1957 and 1984) has shown that Toda has a seven-way contrast in place of articulation of fricatives. The behaviour and organization of plosives is quite different in each language. The glottal stop is phoneme, for instance, in Kuvi (Ramakrishna Reddy et al, 1974). The important and well-known contrast is between dental and alveolar and retroflex which is a characteristic feature of Dravidian. Some languages have two places of articulation in affricates. These also contrast in voicing, aspiration, and length similar to plosives.

#### 4.2.2.2 Nasals

Dravidian languages differ in their number of nasal phonemes. Malayalam is known for maximum contrast in the nasal phenomena in the world languages (Ladefoged, 1996) contributing to the knowledge of the sound patterns of languages in general and Dravidian in particular. According to Mohanan nasals in Malayalam can contrast at seven different places of articulation (see Table 7). However, there are a few languages which have a six-way contrast in nasals. Most languages have a three-way contrast in which two nasals (*m* and *n*) are common to all and the third one is a retroflex, a palatal, or a velar. Voiceless nasals are not noticed. Both phonetic and phonological issues associated with the nasal consonants in Dravidian languages and other Indian languages have been examined elsewhere (Nagamma Reddy and Kanakavalli 1994). Nasals can also contrast in length as for example in Telugu /*mona*/ 'the sharp tip of an instrument' versus /*monna*/ 'day before yesterday'.

#### 4.2.2.3 Fricatives

Most of the Dravidian languages have voiceless fricatives. A maximum of seven-way contrast is found in Toda alone (in terms of place of



articulation) with voicing contrast (Emeneau 1957). Emeneau makes a division of fricatives into sibilant and non-sibilant. An alveolar voiceless fricative /s/ is found in all languages and some languages have a series of voiceless fricatives and some others both voiced and voiceless. Only a voiceless alveolar fricative /s/ can contrast in length.

#### 4.2.2.4 Laterals

Laterals in most of the Dravidian languages contrast only in two places of articulation (e.g. /kala/ 'a dream' and /kaḷa/ 'an art' in Telugu). Voiced laterals are common in all languages but Toda appears to have a voiceless lateral as well and it distinguishes between voiceless and voiced dental, alveolar and retroflex laterals as in /kal/ 'study' - /kaḷ/ 'bead' and /paḷ/ 'valley', /paḷ/ 'bangle'. The laterals also contrast in length (e.g. /kala/ 'a dream' and /kalla/ 'false', in Telugu). Lateral click is also possible in Telugu and other Dravidian languages as a para-linguistic feature and adds a sort of semantic dimension to the utterance. Lateral can also occur as flap or as tap similar to trill. Retroflex lateral flap and alveolar lateral tap is common in intervocalic position in Dravidian.

#### 4.2.2.5 Trills, tap and flap

An epical voiced alveolar trill is common to Dravidian. However, there is a two-way contrast in trills between alveolar and non-alveolar. Malayalam contrasts in two types of trills: one is a retracted alveolar and another is an advanced alveolar trill as in /kaɾi/ 'curry' and /kaɽi/ 'soot' respectively. Toda has three types of trills produced at three place of articulation: fronted, alveolar and retroflex. They can occur as plain palatalized in Toda. Words illustrating contrasting trills in Toda are: /kaɾ/ 'border' /kaɽ/ 'pen for calves' and /paɾ/ 'to gallop' /kaɽ/ 'funeral rice'. This language in addition has contrast between voiced and voiceless trill as noted by Emeneau in Toda which is similar to voiced and voiceless laterals in the same language. They also contrast in a single and geminate form.

A trill is distinguished from a flap or tap articulation in Dravidian. A trill is realized as a tap or a trill in intervocalic position. A single trill is phonetically a tap and geminate trill is produced as a trill, e.g. /ara/ [a a] 'a half' vs. /arra/ [ara] 'a corner small room'. A flap [ɾ] occurs intervocalically as an allophone of the voiced unaspirated retroflex plosive in Telugu and some other Dravidian languages. A short trill (i.e. a tap) is distinguished

with the trill which shows repeated articulatory closures and openings at least six times.

#### 4.2.2.6 Semi-vowels

Two-way contrast is found in semi-vowels: between labial labio-dental and palatal. A labio-dental approximant occurs as an allophone of bilabial approximant. All languages have two semi-vowels /w/ and /y/ as phonemes. These can also occur as geminates as in /awwa/ 'grandmother' and /ayya/ 'father' and contrast with single phonemes in intervocalic position.

There is, thus, a considerable divergence or difference in phonological inventory of Dravidian languages as shown above. A further point to note here is that one of the seminal contributions of Emeneau to the Dravidian phonology is that he has observed, identified, analyzed and set up, for the first time, (i) a seven-way contrast in places of articulation and (ii) a two-way contrast in voicing in fricatives, trills and laterals.

### 5. Co-articulation

We are still ignorant of co-articulatory phenomenon (i.e. secondary and double articulation) in Dravidian languages. They are segments in Dravidian produced with double articulation and with secondary articulations. For example, we have seen trills in Malayalam and Toda involving palatalization. Contextual co-articulation is found to be strong with affricates and velars, notably the former in Telugu and the latter in Malayalam. Co-articulatory processes need to be further explored because co-articulation is not only a phonetic phenomenon but also a phonological one. Phonologists working on any language formulate rules to account for the differences that they notice by auditory process in segments when they occur in different contexts. Fraser (2002) questions 1. What is the relationship between (a) what the linguist hears as significant co-articulation variation (and thus tries to cover with phonological rules) and (b) what the speaker is controlling in the articulation of the sound sequences in question. 2. What should be the relationship between the phonetic description of co-articulation phenomena, and rule of palatalisation in Tamil which effects the pronunciation of several segments such as the velars and dentals in different degrees. Vowel harmony is another significant feature of certain languages as for example in Telugu. This co-articulatory feature deserves



further exploration, both at the phonetic and phonological levels, as several dimensions of vowel quality are involved here.

## 6. Phonotactics

Patterns of arrangement of phonemes (i.e. phonotactics) also differ from language to language, though certain similarities can be noticed throughout the family. The formation of consonant clusters/sequences of both Telugu and some tribal languages of South Central group have been analysed by Nagamma Reddy and Ramakrishna Reddy (1986 and 2002). The general notion that Dravidian languages are devoid of initial clusters does not apply to the Kondh Dravidian in that these languages are replete with word initial clusters such as *pr-* or *kn-* in *pra:* 'old', *knima* 'waist', etc., which are the result of metathesis and compensatory lengthening of the vowel. Geminates are common to all languages. Toda seems to be different from Telugu in using non-homorganic nasal + stop sequences such as *-np-* and *-nk-*. Emeneau (1984) gives a detailed analysis of possible consonant clusters and constraints on consonant sequences, predictable and unpredictable clusters in syllables and words in Toda. Clusters in Dravidian languages have more than one and a half to three times the duration of single segments of comparable type.

## 7. Syllable

Syllable structure also differs, for example from Telugu to Tamil-Malayalam. As mentioned elsewhere (Nagamma Reddy, 1979), generalized formulae will produce certain unacceptable combinations of word structures. Initial, medial and final syllable structure must be represented separately as they differ in individual languages as well as in group of languages since some languages may have occurrence of word-final consonants. We need to establish consonant and vowel phonemes individually and in combination with other sounds (i.e. clusters) and syllabification of consonant combinations for native system and borrowed system. We have details of syllable structure types and their constraints only from some of the Dravidian languages.

The phonological status of complex segments (such as affricates, aspirates, diphthongs) has to be worked out, whether they should be treated as mono-phonemes or bi-phonemes. The phonological treatments of these

complex segments bring a difference in the system of languages and it causes problems of comparative phoneme inventory.

## 8. Suprasegmentals

Suprasegmental features like length, stress, juncture and intonation have attracted only a few scholars. Linguistic functions of these features are not elaborate. Linguistic or grammatical functions of length, stress, junctural phonemes and intonation patterns differ from one language to another. Intonation patterns of all major Dravidian languages have been worked out to some extent, but not in all aspects i.e. discourse or in language acquisition for example.

There is no phonemic stress in Dravidian but there is a grammatical, contrastive, or sentence stress known as emphasis or emphatic stress. The phonological structure of a word, segment type, and word boundary play an important role in determining emphasis in Telugu and Tamil which may be the case with other Dravidian languages as well. A consonant or a vowel is modified under the effect of emphasis to indicate speaker's attitude or focus. The modifications are restricted to certain segment types and certain places in a word depending on its phonological structure and semantic context. Different mechanisms are employed to emphasize words of different structures.

Among the phonetic devices such as stress, pitch, length, and timber that may signal emphasis in Telugu the lengthening appears to be a more effective cue to emphasis, that is, a consonant or a vowel is lengthened under the effect of emphasis. This lengthening is restricted to certain segment types only (for example, a long vowel, a geminate consonant, a homorganic nasal, or a word-initial consonant) and to certain places in the word depending on its phonological structure. There are further restrictions resulting from the need to avoid semantic confusion in that the lengthening of a segment in word could result in the production of an entirely different word. In such cases some other phonetic mechanisms such as consonant aspiration, glottal onset of a vowel, etc are used.

If we wish to single out a word from a possible set of alternatives, a (grammatical) emphatic particle /e:/ is used in the place of final vowel as in /kona/ + /e:/ > /kone:/ 'only the tip'. Depending upon the placement of emphasis nominal compounds indicate possessive versus conjunct structures



and in the reduplicatives, the final syllable of the base word receives the emphasis distinguishing between such functions as denial and pretension, but in words in isolation the emphasis is mostly placed on non-final segments.

Dravidian languages are said to be syllable-timed languages, different from English which is a stress-timed language. Balasubramanian (1972) made a thorough instrumental study of the phenomenon in Tamil and found that it is neither syllable-timed nor stress-timed language. However, the rhythmic patterns of Dravidian languages still need to be studied.

## 9. Instrumental phonetic studies

A number of instrumental phonetic studies of various aspects of Dravidian phonemes in individual languages or group of languages have been made and statistical measurements of recordings on supporting evidence are available. The following scholars have made instrumental investigation of certain aspects of Dravidian speech sounds: Lisker, Thananjayarajasingham, Balasubramanian, and Ravishankar and others for Tamil, Maheshwaraiah, Rajapurohit for Kannada, Nagamma Reddy for Telugu, Tamil and Malayalam; Velayudhan and Prabodhachandran Nayar for Malayalam, Ladefoged on retroflexion in Toda and Tamil, Fraser on co-articulation in Tamil, and Zvelebil for some segments in Dravidian languages. I have investigated features like aspiration, retroflexion, nasalization, duration, effect of place of articulation, voicing and others in few Dravidian languages through Kymography, Spectrography, Palatography and X-ray photography. The details of the characteristic features of certain sounds and sound sequences can be found in some of the publications listed herein under references.

## 10. Conclusion

This paper is simply a preliminary, but brief, account of the major phonetic and phonological categories that Dravidian languages employ. We have not yet achieved a comprehensive picture of the processes and laws that govern Dravidian speech forms/phonology as it requires an interdisciplinary effort. There is, as in all matters of research, much that remains to be done. Most of the works follow particular school, do not cover a wide range of competing theories, analytical strategies, and notational systems. A major objective of work at present is to provide a natural and convenient means to interact with computer systems. This requires a detailed research

and production of linguistic description of totality of language or group of languages. Further, as Dravidian languages are rich in their sound systems; hence they can contribute a lot to the world's knowledge of phonetics and phonology.

To cite an example within South Asia, the Dravidian languages have been playing the roles of both donor and recipient of linguistic features in bilingual/multilingual contact situations. The spread of retroflexion from Dravidian in the Indian linguistic area is a well-attested case. Similarly compensatory lengthening is also envisaged to have travelled from Dravidian. On the other, some of the Dravidian languages have borrowed the phonological features such as aspiration, glottal stop, nasalization and so forth.

The impact of Dravidian phonological system on theoretical phonology is somewhat minimal. Significant data of the Dravidian phonology deserve analysis and description from different theoretical perspectives. This requires phonological and phonetic fieldwork on spoken varieties of literary languages and their dialects, and on minor, tribal and minority languages of the family. However, the theoretical and descriptive analysis of Toda, Kota, Kodagu, Kolami and Brahui by Emeneau is an exception to this general state of affairs. His exemplification of the data from Toda, Kolami and Badaga suggest a more elaborate descriptive framework for languages in general and Dravidian in particular. His research publications on Dravidian phonology are too vast and numerous to summarize them here. However, certain descriptive analyses put forward by him increases the phonological categories in Dravidian and serve as a model for other researchers in the field.

Emeneau has a very sharp ear and perceptual ability to identify and to distinguish sounds of languages. Minute differences in speech sounds are clearly noticed and recorded and analyzed systematically by him. The distinction between fast and slow speech is well brought out in his works. His findings and research provides a basis for future work on phonological features in India and outside India. He has provided many distinguishable categories which are not known in Dravidian. The phonological analyses are very thorough covering all aspects of phonology and morphophonology. Under the conventional title of morphophonemics the *Sandhi* in Indian tradition is investigated in detail by Emeneau in all his works. This is yet another original contribution of Emeneau to Dravidian phonology and



Indian linguistics. Morphophonemics of different segments with reference to slow and fast speech is presented aptly in his works alone. Detailed allophonic statements of vowels and consonants are some of the highlights of his work.

The phonological structure of word is discussed in terms of the structure of number of syllables, distribution of single consonants and consonant clusters. The clusters within the structure of words are divided into predictable and non-predictable groups, which comprise the phonotactics of the languages under discussion. This is a significant study and serves as a model to analyse and describe other Dravidian languages in particular and language in general.

Suprasegmental features of accent and intonation are given in detail, which cut across the levels of language analysis. Emeneau's works have been recognized and confirmed by many scholars as outstanding models to be emulated by others.

Ladefoged (1996) comments that "Emeneau offers a good evidence for all the 15 vowels being phonologically contrastive" and he also finds a three-way contrast (plain, slightly retroflexed and fully retroflexed) in Toda vowels. Ladefoged (1996) quotes Emeneau several times for his contribution to the distinctive categories of sounds in his book on sounds of world's languages.

Krishnamurti in his introduction to Dravidian studies by Emeneau (1994: xv) says that "Most of the papers have unravelled difficult phonological and morphological problems of Toda, Kota, Kodagu and Brahui on which Professor Emeneau has first hand knowledge and control of data... facilitate future research on Dravidian linguistics and ethnology."

Emeneau has an excellent contribution to the consonant system of Dravidian languages in terms of (1) number of distinctive places of articulations of fricatives (seven-way contrast), trills and laterals (three-way contrast) (2) voicing distinction in fricatives, laterals and trills which distinctions are otherwise not known. He provides good descriptions of sounds of languages which remain a challenge to phoneticians and phonologists.

Even in the matters of comparative Dravidian phonology for languages which have been well worked out by some scholars, he states with explanations giving evidence that *\*k-* is palatalized to *c-* before the front vowels viz., but in Tamil, Malayalam a retroflex following the front vowel inhibits the palatalization, and that in Telugu the palatalization occurs also before *ē* resulting from *\*ay*. (Emeneau 1974/1994). He proposed a new rule of velarization of proto-Dravidian palatal voiceless unaspirated affricate. His contribution, thus, to comparative Dravidian phonology is also admirable and noteworthy.

Emeneau combines in himself an observant dedicated field worker who perceived subtle variations in articulatory postures and made distinctions required for describing fricatives, for example, more elaborate. He is a theoretician of high quality at the same time. Whichever area he has studied, he has made a remarkable contribution - be it phonology, grammar, linguistic area, oral literature, ethnology or folklore. Indian linguists and students will ever be indebted to him for generations to come.

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### A HANDBOOK OF KERALA (Vol. 1)

T. Madhava Menon (Ed.), 2000, HB, Demy 1/4, pp. xii+373, Rs. 1,000/- (US\$ 125/-)

In its series of *handbooks* of various States in India, of the ISDL, the 2-volume set on Kerala by T. Madhava Menon (IAS Retd.), is now published. The first volume covers the physiography, geography and physical features of the State, its forests, fauna and flora, history, religion and economy. The prehistorical foundations of Kerala have been detailed by Prof. Rajendran. Because of the facilities available in the ISDL, the section on history is based on a more intensive interpretation of Tamil sources. In the section on religion, folk belief-systems of the sociology of religious changes and the rituals of Hindu forms of worship have been described. The section contains articles on Buddhism, Jainism, Judaism, Christianity and Islam. There are articles on temple architecture, with illustrations. The section on economy contains contributions from some of the most eminent authors on this subject. The *Kerala Model*, out-migration, demographic transition and stagnation have also been analyzed.



## HISTORICAL STUDY OF TODA MORPHOLOGY (CONTINUATION OF EMENEAU'S WORK)

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### 0. Introduction

0.1. Professor M.B. Emeneau's Toda grammar and texts (1984) contains a number of historical statements based on comparative study. He (1984:2) himself has stated the reasons for including such statements in the grammar '... though the language is on the whole presented in its own terms .... such remarks present to the comparative Dravidianist historical statements about the Toda material which I may never otherwise find an opportunity to present.' If Emeneau's greatness as a fieldworker is established by his recording of the of the Toda language, which has complex phonology with sixteen vowels and thirty-seven consonants, his greatness as a comparativist is equally established, apart from similar work on other languages, by the etymologies he provided for the Toda words in DR and by the historical explanations he gave for the Toda suffixes in his 1984 work. The correctness of his phonetic recording is established not only by physical verification in recent times (see Shalev et al 1994) but also by the possibility of framing precise rules for the development of Toda sounds from Proto-Dravidian (see for example, Subrahmanyam 1976, 1983). Although he could explain the origin of some of the suffixes, there are many others for which he could not find the sources at that time. A casual examination of the material left out has led me to the conclusion that further investigation of this aspect will be fruitful. I offer this paper in which I have investigated the origin of some of the suffixes that did not come under Emeneau's historical study as my humble tribute to the *guru:na:m gurutama* of Dravidian studies on the happy occasion of his centenary celebrations.

### 1. Plural suffix -a:m

1.1. The Toda plural suffix -a:m (with the oblique base containing *n* in the place of *m*), known to the scholarly world from the time of Emeneau's 1957

paper, is, as has been noted by Emeneau himself, unrelatable to the plural suffix of any other sister language and has so far defied all attempts at historical explanation.<sup>1</sup> In fact, no one seems to have offered any alternative to Emeneau's tentative hypothesis proposed in that paper itself suggesting connection with the -m plural suffix of personal (and reflexive) pronouns (see note 1). It, however, cannot be defended for two reasons. One is that it does not concern itself with the extra a: in -a:m and the other is that no reason can be found in this explanation for the change of *m* to *n* in the oblique stem since such a change is not found in the pronouns. When I started work on this paper, I wanted to find some satisfactory explanation for the origin of this suffix but was not sure whether I could do so. I first toyed with several ideas. The only possible alternative to Emeneau's suggestion within morphology is the human plural suffix \*-ar plus the additive-cum-totalizing particle -m with simplification of the cluster *rm* and compensatory lengthening of the vowel. But the problem with this is that it is unusual for the human plural suffix to be generalized as the plural for all nouns. Since relationship with any suffix in the sister languages is thus ruled out, I next explored the possibility that the -a:m could be the truncated part of \*ella:m 'all (non-hum.)'. This also proved to be unsatisfactory especially since \*ella:m appears as elom in Toda with the expected change of a: > o (Emeneau 1984:184); then there is no reason for the non-operation of this change in -a:m. Finally, it dawned on me that \*anayttum 'all (non-hum.)' (:Ta. anaittum, Ma. anaittum, Ka. anitum, antu 'the whole', Te. anta (adj.) 'that much, the whole', (Old) antayun (noun, postmodifier) 'the whole' / (Mod.) anta: (noun, postmodifier) 'the whole thing, all (hum. pl.)' [DR 1]) fits in all aspects to be the source of -a:m, e.g.

Toda		Tamil	
ir-a:m	'buffaloes'	erumai ~ y <u>ana</u> ittum	'all the buffaloes'
ka <u>s</u> -a:m	'stones'	kall <u>ana</u> ittum	'all the stones'
mo <u>d</u> -a:m	'villages'	man <u>r</u> (u) <u>ana</u> ittum	'all the assemblies'

1.2. In \*anayttum, anay- is the base as is clear from the human form \*anayvarum 'all (hum.)' (: Ta. anaivarum, Ma. anaivar, Ka. anibar) with the plural suffix \*-var, -ttu is the neuter suffix related to the -t of the neuter singular

1. The plural suffix for all nouns and demonstrative pronouns is -a:m with oblique stem -a:n- (e.g. ira:m 'buffaloes', aθa:m 'those'); this is unlike anything elsewhere in Dravidian, and its origin is still unknown, though it may be suspected that the -m of the plural personal pronouns (1pl. incl. om, 1pl. excl. em, 2pl. nim) is of some moment.' (Emeneau 1957:65; also see Emeneau 1984: 75).



pronouns \*at(u) 'it',<sup>2</sup> etc. and -um is the additive-cum-totalizing particle. The development must have been on the following lines: \*anayttum > \*antm > -a:m. The loss of an original short vowel other than \*i and \*ay (here, \*ay and \*u) in non-initial syllables of Toda is well-known (Emeneau 1979); \*-um > m is even otherwise attested (Emeneau 1984:181). The reason for the retention of \*a without changing to o (in contrast to \*ella:m > elom 'all', for example) is the following \*ay that must have been present in pre-Toda as in To. man 'family, household' < \*manay (DR 4776; Subrahmanyam 1976:97). The final step involves simplification of the consonant cluster attended by compensatory lengthening. The simplification involved here is similar to that found in \*pat-in- > pon- (i.e. \*-tin- > \*tn > n) in the numerals 11-13; for compensatory lengthening, cf. e:d < \*erant < \*irant(u) 'two' (DR 474), i:L 'night' < \*irul (DR 2552) and the numerals 15, 18 and 19 (see note 3). There is plenty of other supportive evidence for the process of reduction of the second word of a close-knit phrase or a compound into a suffix, which often involves drastic phonetic changes that are unparalleled within the language.<sup>3</sup>

2. The neuter singular suffix -ttu, though rarer than -tu, is found in Tamil finite verbs like a:yirru (< \*a:k-in-ttu) 'it became', tankirru (< \*tank-in-ttu) 'it remained' (Ramaswami Aiyar 1938:758); the corresponding form -tu is more common in Kannada verbs, e.g. (Old Ka.) a:ytu 'it became', po:ytu 'it went' (Ramachandra Rao 1972:136).
3. It is not a strange phenomenon in the historical development of languages for a word of an earlier stage to be reduced to a suffix. For example, English -dom (as in freedom) < Old English do:m 'quality' and English-hood (as in manhood) < Old English ha:d 'state'. The history of Toda numeral compounds 11 to 19 with drastic and unparalleled simplification of the second member or the entire unit (especially in 14-19) is instructive in this connection (DR 3918):

11. pon wi:d < \*pat-in-ont(u)
12. pon e:d < \*pann-irant(u) (attested in other languages) < \*\*pat-in-irant(u)
13. pon mu:d < \*pat-in-mu:nt(u)
14. pa:ng < \*pat-in-na:nk(u)
15. pu:j < \*pat-in-aynt(u)
16. pa:r < \*pat-in-a:t(u)
17. pa:w < \*pat-in-e:l
18. pu:t < \*pat-in-entt(u)
19. pu:nboθ < \*patt-orumpat(u)

Also cf. the following Indo-Aryan loans in Toda with unpredictable changes (these words must have entered into Toda through either Tamil or the Badaga dialect of Kannada; the neuter suffix -m is added to Sanskrit stems ending in a when they are borrowed into the literary Dravidian languages):

o:cum	< Skt. a:ditya-va:ra-m	'Sunday'
tu:fum	< Skt. so:ma-va:ra-m	'Monday'
puθum	< Skt. budha-va:ra-m	'Wednesday'

Note that ve:nt- undergoes the peculiar change of being reduced to (a)n when the Old Tamil syntactic construction, Verb Base-a (Infinitive) + ve:ntum changes into a single word in Spoken Tamil, e.g. ceyy-a + ve:ntum 'one must do' ceyy-anũ. There is no similar case in the language to be cited; on the other hand, ve:ntum 'it is required' changes to ve:nũ outside the above construction. In a similar way, Old Telugu ce:ya(n) valayunu > (Modern) ceyy-a:li also shows the unique change valayunu > -a:li for which it will be hard to find other examples in the language.

1.3. As for the semantic aspect, the loss of gender (or, in other words, the extension of the neuter forms to the masculine and the feminine, e.g. *aθ* 'he she/it') in the language must have been responsible for extending the suffix to human nouns as well at the expense of \**anaywar-um* as in *okn-a:m* 'elder sisters', *o:L-a:m* 'men, Todas', *kurb-a:m* 'Kurumbas', *ma:f-a:m* 'Badagas', etc. A similar trend is found in other languages also. In Sangam Tamil itself *ella:m*, which mainly means 'all (non-hum.)' is used as a postmodifier for human nouns optionally instead of the human forms *ella:rum/ello:rum* (Rajam 1992:451), e.g. *pulavar ella:m* 'all the poets'; also cf. Spoken Ta. *avanga ella:rum/ella:m vanduttā:nga* 'all of them (hum.) have come'. Malaya:lam also shows a similar trend, e.g. *kuttikal ella:m vannittuntθ* 'all the children have come'. In Telugu, *anta* 'the whole thing (e.g. *u:r(u) anta* 'the whole village')' is also used in the spoken language optionally instead of the corresponding human form *andaru*: in the nominative case, e.g. Te. *va:ll(u) andaru:/anta: occE:ru* 'all of them (hum.) have come' (on the other hand, when *andaru-* is followed by a non-nominative case suffix, it cannot be replaced by *anta*; e.g. *va:ll(u) andar-ni*: (not \**antani*:) *pilicE:nu* 'I invited all of them').

1.4. The *-a:n-* of the oblique base that corresponds to *-a:m* is nothing but the same form at the underlying level without the additive-cum-totalizing particle \**-um*; that is, *-a:n-* < \**ant-* < \**anai-tt-*). Everywhere in Dravidian, the particle in question occurs after an overt case suffix when the latter is present. For example, the form *aθ-a:n-g* 'to those' is derived from the sequence \**atu anayttukkum*. Here the consonant cluster \**ntkm* is simplified by the deletion of *t* and *m* while in the nominative forms the simplification involved the deletion of *nt* but the retention of *m*. The two kinds of cluster simplification seem to involve grammatical conditioning. When there is no case suffix, the particle is felt to be important and is consequently retained but when there is a case suffix the latter is retained allowing for the deletion of the less important particle (the deletion of the particle after an overt case marker seems to be optional at least in some cases as is shown by the example given below). That *-a:m/-a:n-* is derived from \**anaytt(um)* is further confirmed by the retention of *t* in *-a:nt-*, which is the variant of *-a:n-* before the vowel-beginning suffix *-a:r* 'through, around, until', e.g. *irṇ-a:nt-a:r-m* 'all over places' (Emeneau 1984:87, Text 92.5 [p. 284]). The present explanation for the *t* is far superior to Emeneau's (1984:86) tentative assumption of connection between this *t* and the oblique suffix \**-tt-* of *m/n*-ending nouns. The long vowel in *-a:nt-* in which there is no simplification of the



consonant cluster must be due to analogy with the forms with compensatory lengthening.

1.5. A perusal of the texts shows that the use of this suffix in Toda is also less frequent and non-obligatory like that of the non-human plural suffixes of the other South Dravidian languages (and Brahui of North Dravidian [Subrahmanyam 1969:95]). It is optional with human nouns; we can understand this as the continuation of the original trait since the source form \**anaytt(um)* of this is of the non-human category as opposed to \**anayvar(um)*. The following examples of nouns qualified by *peš* 'many', *kiš* 'some', *upum* 'many' or a numeral other than 'one', which normally require the plural suffix but does not have may be noted: *peš* *ir* 'many buffaloes', *kiš* *me:n* 'some trees', *kiš* *fum* 'some fruit', *upum* *no:L* 'many days'. The following sentence is an example for the optionality of *-a:m* with human nouns with *ma:f* for *ma:f-a:m* 'Badagas' and *o:L* for *o:L-a:m* 'men, Todas': *mun go:atk, twineš ma:f, o:L θo:tyfoy ma:fu (i)dti* (Text 94.1.[p. 284]) 'In former times the Badagas of Tuneri village were Badagas whom the Todas brought up (like children) - so they say.' The forms with the suffix occur in the same text in the third and the subsequent sentences, e.g. *i ma:fa:m il wiđi* 'these Badagas are here' (sentence 3), *o:La:m .... xe:tfišk* 'the Todas heard ...' (sentence 4).

## 2. Possessive suffix -n (optional)

2.1. Emeneau (1984:75) has noted that the possessive suffix *-n* (with the variant *n* after a retroflex) occurs optionally in a few instances. This can be traced to the oblique suffix \**-In-* well represented in Tamil (in which also it is optional [Shanmugam 1971: 199-201]), e.g. *ir-n gwī:r/ir xwī:r* (: *Ta. erumaiy(-in) ko:tu*) 'buffalo's horn(s)'. The possessive suffix here also is historically speaking unmarked as elsewhere in Toda and in most of the other sister languages.

## 3. Locative suffix -s

3.1. The basic form of the locative suffix in Toda is *-s*, e.g. *kub-s* (< \**kump-il*) 'at the back', *irt-s* (< \**itatt-il*) 'at the place' (Emeneau 1984:81). It has four other allomorphs: *-š* (after the palatals *y* and *c*), e.g. *poLy-š* (< \**palli-y-il*) 'at the dairy', *karc-š* (\**kataiciy-il*) 'at the end'; *z* (after the high vowels *i*:

and u:), e.g. ti:-ž 'at the ti: dairy', mu:-ž 'in the mu: vessel'; -š (after retroflex consonants and w [ $< *l$ ]), e.g. kwī:t-š ( $< *ko:t$ -il) 'on the branch', pa:wš ( $< *pula$ i-y-il) 'in the river/water'; -z (after the vowels i: and u: of two nouns which had  $*l$  at the end in pre-Toda and a few others), e.g. twī:-z ( $< *to$ (:)-l-il) 'in the pen', piku:-z ( $< *pokku$ l-il) 'in the navel'.

3.2. Toda -s and Kota -l look to Proto-Toda  $*-l$ , which can be connected to Tamil-Malaya:lam -il; all these along with Kodagu -li give evidence for Proto-Tamil (-Malaya:lam-Kodagu-Kota)-Toda locative suffix  $*-il$ . Although at first sight there appears to be a possibility for the alternative of connecting the Kota-Toda and the Kodagu suffixes to Kannada -alli, that alternative is ruled out by the formation of the ablative suffixes of Kota-Toda (see §4) which closely resemble the Tamil-Malaya:lam formations based on -il (Kannada ablative -inda is a separate formation not based on the locative). It is a remote possibility for the ablative and the locative to have different origins.

#### 4. Ablative suffix -sn

4.1. The basic form of the ablative suffix in Toda is -sn (the sibilant shows variation as in the locative). It can be related to Malaya:lam (12/13th century inscriptions) -ilninru/(later) -ilninnu. Since Old Tamil shows just ninru (originally past adverb of nil- 'to stand' with the meaning 'having stood') as the ablative marker (Shanmugam 1971:268), the Toda suffix with s ( $< *l$ ) is better connected with the Malaya:lam form, e.g. po:yšn ( $< *va$ :y-il-nintnt(u)) 'from the mouth', mun go:stsn ( $< *mun$  ka:la ~ tt-il-nint(u)) 'from olden times'. On the other hand, the Kota ablative -ltr (Emeneau 1967:75) can be related to Ta. -iliruntu (in which iruntu 'having been' is the past adverb from iru- 'to be'), e.g. du:rtltr ( $< *du$ :ra ~ tt-il-iruntu) 'from a distance'. In -ltr, the vowels and the final  $*nt$  are lost and t seems to have developed between l and r as an excrescent consonant. In a similar way, the Toda suffix also shows the loss of final  $*nt$  along with that of the vowels.

#### 5. -kidy 'ever since'

5.1. -kidy, found added only to aθ in aθkidy 'thereafter', is one of the suffixes for which Emeneau expressed his inability to find the etymology (Emeneau 1984:88). It appears to have been borrowed from Badaga as it can be traced



to the Kannada construction: dative suffix -(a)kke + hinde 'afterwards' (-akke after neuter singular pronouns, e.g. ad-akke 'to it', -kke after nominal stems ending in a, e.g. mara-kke 'to the tree'). hinde > To. idy with deletion of h (as in üly Badaga huli < \*puli 'tiger' [DR 4307]), loss of the nasal in \*NP (regular in native words and loans) and final \*ay > \*e > \*i > y in loans; in fact, the last change is one of the sure signals for identifying a word as a loan (Emeneau as reported in Subrahmanyam 1983:391). aθxidy 'thereafter' < Ka. adakke hinde. Its only other use after a verbal noun of the type S<sup>2</sup>-θ also involves the same construction with the deletion of a, e.g. kodθxidy 'after seeing' < \*kaṇḍaḍakke + hinde.

## 6. -po:l 'at'

6.1. The nominal form ending in -po:l 'at' is construed only with the verb nwi:t- (past stem nwi:ty-) 'to look', e.g. ir-po:l 'at the buffalo', okn-bo:l 'at the elder sister', aθ-a:n-po:l 'at them'. Emeneau (1984:88) confessed that 'no etymology has been found'; his mention of cognate words in DED 3758 (DR 4597) traceable to \*po:l- 'to resemble' in this connection seems to have been made out of frustration but not with any seriousness. The suggestion is not maintainable for both semantic and phonological reasons; the semantic connection assumed is far-fetched and, further, \*o: never remains as o: in Toda. When I looked at this section in the prepublication copy of Emeneau 1984 which he was kind enough to send me, what immediately came to my mind was the Old Telugu usage of Noun + pa:likin 'to Noun' construed with a verb of motion or 'send' (see §6.2). I wrote about this to Professor Emeneau; he acknowledged my letter saying that this matter had not come to his notice. I gave him also examples from the *Maha:bha:rata* but probably it was too late for him to make any change in the book. When I mentioned this matter to N. Kumaraswami Raja, he suggested that Te. pa:lu- (the stem of pa:likin) may be the same as Te. pa:lu 'side, part, portion, share', which is related to Ta. pa:l and other cognates in DR 4097 (cf. a-ppa:l 'that side' [DR 1] and i-ppa:l 'this side' [DR 410]) and that the reconstructed form \*pa:l may be a contraction of the verbal noun pak-al from paku- 'to divide' (this is already indicated in DED 3154/DR 3808).

6.2 In Old Telugu, -pa:l-i-kin 'to, near' (< pa:lu- with the dative suffix) and -pa:l-an 'at, with, near' (pa:lu- with the locative suffix) are very commonly used as postpositions after the genitive case form of a noun, e.g.

canudeñceN gauravamahi:suNdu di:nata *bhi:smupa:likin*  
(*Bhi:smaparvamu* 3.135)

'The king of Kauravas came to *Bhi:sma* with despair.'

*atanipa:lan* andaruN dagav aina panula nilucut abhimatambu  
(*Vira:taparvamu* 1.64)

'It is my wish that we all stay *with him* doing suitable jobs.'

*pa:lu* itself is used in Old and modern Telugu in certain constructions like *ra:julasommu ra:llapa:lu* 'the money of kings ends up in being spent on stones' (*ra:llapa:lu* literally means 'share of stones').

6.3. In Sangam Tamil also, there are usages with *-pa:l* as a postposition in the sense 'side, to, towards' (Rajam 1992:371-72):

*cira:ar-pa:l* pattana  
'She mixed *with children*.'

*pu:n vanta vali nin-pa:l* ma:yakkalavu anre:l  
'if the way in which (my) jewellery came *to you* is not (due to) an illusive theft'

In Kannada also, *-pa:lige* is used in the sense of 'on the part of, for', e.g. *eraḍu: kaḍeyavare madhye samato:lane ma:ḍuvudu sing pa:lige doḍḍa agnipari:kṣe* 'it is a big test *for Singh* to strike a balance between the people of the two sides'. The use of the Toda forms with this suffix only with *nwi:t-* (past stem *nwi:ty-*) 'to look' must be the result of restriction (the semantic development 'side' > 'towards/at' is not hard to imagine), e.g.

*kir xu:x, tan oknbo:l nwi:ty* 'oka:!  
(i)d fintyn 172: 10 (p. 380).

'The small girl, looking *at her elder sister*, asked 'Elder sister!  
What is the country like to which you went in marriage?'

*oknbo:l (nwi:ty)* of this example literally means '(looking at) the side of the elder sister'; for a similar construction, cf. Te. *akka + vaypu/akka-ni cu:si* with the same meaning (*vaypu* 'side').



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## THE ETYMOLOGICAL DICTIONARY BY T. BURROW AND M.B. EMENEAU\*

V.I. SUBRAMONIAM

For the growth and development of Dravidian linguistics particularly to comparative Dravidian linguistics, a few recent publications are helpful. T. Burrow and M.B. Emeneau, the two Professors of Sanskrit: one of Oxford and another at Berkeley, California edited *A Dravidian Etymological Dictionary*, which deserves mention as a noteworthy publication.

When a scholar from the West writes a book on the Dravidian subject, Indians welcome and praise that. To appreciate a book the depth of knowledge covered may be a basis or the ignorance of the reader. Even after a century, scholars in the South only praised Caldwell's Comparative Grammar in finding evidences in the Dravidian language texts to substantiate the statement of Caldwell. Even though several shortcomings of that work were pointed out by Westerners, the scholars in South India did not take note of them. It may be because the comparative method was not familiar to the scholars in South India. The situation has changed now. The contribution of T. Burrow and M.B. Emeneau through this Dictionary therefore will be critically evaluated here.

This dictionary was published in A.D. 1961. For about twenty-three years, Burrow's involvement in Dravidian languages is fully reflected in this work. Also over twenty-seven years Emeneau's dedicated research in this group of languages has culminated in this work. In 1968, a supplementary dictionary was published by them. Through articles on Dravidian languages, they continued their work. Later on, the original and supplement were com-

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\* The present article is translated from the Tamil original of a Radio Talk in the Trichy Radio Station in 1973 and published in the book *Karuttu Oottam* 1991 in Tamil, Semi Publications, Nagercoil.

bined into a single volume and published by the Oxford University Press in 1984 (shortly known as DEDR).

In 1949, Emeneau met Burrow in the Oxford University when Emeneau was a Rhodes Scholar. They both decided upon the focus and format of the Dictionary, in their words "It is hoped that the resulting work will make it unnecessary for any scholar in future to do more than glean etymologies that we have missed by oversight or because of the imperfections of the material we have used and that Dravidian studies may build on this foundation more rapidly than has been possible in the past".

The two points impress a reader about their self-confidence. But they themselves in the introduction to the Dictionary list its shortcomings and noted the reasons. Humility and affection towards scholars are the dominant characteristics of the two authors. Those who know them personally were always impressed by these qualities. Hence, readers will not misinterpret their words of assertion, on their statements in the Dictionary.

About 125 years ago, Bishop Caldwell had noted the two necessary steps for the development of Dravidian language research. The first one is to prepare an etymological dictionary for the Dravidian languages and the second one is to compare the grammar of the Dravidian languages and state their convergences and differences. The first suggestion of Caldwell was the main motive for the compilation of this Dictionary. This has been noted by the two authors in the introduction. The second step of Caldwell was attempted in 1972 at Tirupati by the Dravidian Linguistics Association by appointing T.P. Meenakshisundaram and K.N. Ezhuthachan for a year to complete that work on grammars.

Hermann Gundert in 1872 in his Malayalam Dictionary has indicated with the initial letters, the corresponding words in Tamil, Telugu, Kannada for the Malayalam headword. Rev. Kittel who compiled the Kannada dictionary in 1894 listed the cognate words in Tamil, Telugu and Malayalam for the Kannada words. The late K. Ramakrishnaiah published through the Madras University the Dravidian cognates. That University under the editorship of R.P. Sethupillai et al published the *Dravidian Comparative*



*Vocabulary*, thirty years ago. The last two works were quoted in the supplement to this Dictionary. The main dictionary did not mention these works.

But the dictionary of Gundert, Kittel or the work of Ramakrishnaiah and others did not collect cognates from the non-literary languages like Kota, Toda, Kodagu, Kolami, Naiki, Parji, Gadaba, Gondi, Konda, Kui, Kuvi, Kurukh, Malto, Brahui, Pengo, the fifteen non-literary Dravidian languages. Only Burrow and Emeneau have collected cognates from these languages and presented them in their dictionary. This is a praiseworthy step.

That the primitive linguistic traits are present only in literary languages was a concept popular in the eighteenth century. This was severely criticized by Edwin Tuttle and Jules Bloch. The fact that the primitive cultural traits and cognates are found in the non-literary Dravidian languages is ably demonstrated in this Dictionary of Burrow and Emeneau. The word meaning 'horse' is *ivuli*. This word is found in the Sangam literature of Tamil. This word is also found in Brahui spoken in Pakistan, Afghanistan and Iran. This has been pointed out by T. Burrow in an article in the *International Journal of Dravidian linguistics* (1). Therefore, the cognates from unwritten languages finding a place in this dictionary is another admirable feature.

Before evaluating the plan and content of the dictionary, it is necessary for a general reader to know how cognates are identified and collected. The difficulties in so doing should be at least briefly stated here.

Tamil, Malayalam, Kannada and Telugu are related languages. They all belong to a single family. If one looks at the common words one can find similarities in sound and meaning. For instance, we take the word for one *onru* in Tamil, *onnu* in Malayalam. In Kannada, it is *ondu*, in Telugu *ondu*. In the words of the four languages, the sound *o* is found to recur. In the consonant sounds, minor changes are found. But these changes occur in a regular pattern. In several other words, this pattern of change is found, in *nr* Tamil, *nd* in Kannada, *nn* in Malayalam, *nd* in Telugu. Because such a change occurs in several cognate words, it will be declared as a rule affecting the four languages. Whenever a word has this change, that will be collected as a cognate form. The meaning should also be near similar to each

other. Thus on the basis of the resemblance on sounds or regular sound change and meaning resemblance, the cognates are identified. In several instances, false cognates will also find a place in the cognate list. The onomatopoeic words will find easy entrance in the cognate list. They have sound and meaning resemblance necessary for identifying them as cognates. They are imitations, which will not fit in with the sound change regularly found in the cognate words. These have to be eliminated in an etymological dictionary.

Another false cognate is borrowed words in a language. Dravidian languages have borrowed words from Sanskrit, Pali, Prakrit of the Indo-Aryan group and from the neighbouring literate and non-literate languages of the same or different families. Such borrowed words will have very few changes in sound and in meaning. They should not be included in the cognate group. From a dialect also, the standard language borrows words. The rules of sound change will be disturbed and hence to be declared as a dialect borrowing.

Another set of imitation cognates will cause trouble to the investigator. *-ku* is a dative case marker in most of the Dravidian languages. In Hindi also, this is used as dative case marker *aapkoo* 'to you', *uskoo* 'to him'. Since Hindi is a member of the Indo-Aryan family, these features borrowed are called areal features. They are found in several families of languages spoken in a defined geographical area. Hence, they are called areal features, which need to be sifted from genuine cognates.

Typological similarities and drift in sound change will lead to the formation of false cognates. These can be eliminated after careful analysis, which will take a long time. But onomatopoeic and borrowed words are comparatively easy to identify which can be eliminated from the cognate list. But in the Dravidian etymological dictionary, many false cognates have found entry in the list.

As soon as the cognate words are identified, the laws of sound change may help to identify the earlier form of the cognates. The language, which preserves it, can also be located. The earlier example will illustrate this. *onru*, *ondu*, *onnu*, *ondu* the four forms when compared, the *o* is found



in all cognate forms. Hence, it should be found in the base form. From *nr*, one can easily derive *nn* and *nd*. But the vice versa will be tortuous. Hence, the base form should be *nr* found in Tamil. This attempt is called comparative reconstruction. Such forms are marked with a star to indicate that the form is a reconstructed one and not a real form used in a language. It might be in use in that language or not. The reconstructed forms should be given in an etymological dictionary, without which no dictionary can be called as Etymological. The absence of the reconstructed bases in the Burrow and Emeneau Dictionary is a serious omission. Siddheswara Varma, the Senior Linguist in India, called the Dictionary as "an Etymological Dictionary without etymology". Why the reconstructed forms were not given in the Etymological Dictionary is noted in the introduction of Burrow and Emeneau. To reconstruct the base forms needs considerable time and hence are not given in the Dictionary. But when cognates are collected, the laws of sound changes are identified broadly and made use of in identifying cognates. The correspondences of sounds are given in the introduction in a tabular form. They say that "We have given the first place to systematic phonemic resemblance and not for resemblance in meaning". This has been emphasized by them. If phonemic resemblance is the basis for collection of cognates in this Dictionary then each and every language of the Dravidian group has to be phonemicized first. In the central Dravidian languages especially, the phonemisation is defective which has led to several false cognates entering the list. This has been accepted by the authors themselves. Only for a few languages like Kōlami, Toda etc., the phonemisation is faultless and the cognates have been identified without omission.

For Tamil, Malayalam and other literary languages phonemisation has not been attempted. The alphabetic systems used by these languages have been taken as the phonemisation of these languages. Faultless facts will lead to faultless conclusions. If there are problems in identifying cognates in the major Dravidian languages and in the tribal languages, the faulty phonemisation is a major cause for defective identification of cognates.

Another defect in the Dictionary has to be pointed out. The major languages Tamil, Malayalam, Telugu, Kannada and Tulu have written literature with considerable time depth especially in Tamil. The cognates in them can be collected and can be reconstructed historically for each language. When the old forms of each language are identified, the base forms

of the family can be reconstructed without difficulty. The base forms are earlier in point of time. Such historically identified forms will help in the comparative reconstruction considerably. To identify the base forms in each language will take time. Even if it is not attempted in this Dictionary, the two authors at least could have mentioned in their introduction about the need for base forms in each member language.

Just as the base forms of literary languages can be reconstructed, the base forms of non-literary languages can also be reconstructed. This is generally called the internal reconstruction. For literary languages when variants in allomorphs are found, they can be made use of for such a reconstruction. But both authors did not mention about this aspect as necessary for an etymological dictionary. Future attempts in etymologising should take these steps for a thorough presentation of etymological details.

The table of phonemic correspondences given as the basis for identifying the cognates by Burrow and Emeneau has several deficiencies, of which only a few are pointed out here. The vowels *ai* and *au* are found in the cognates listed by them. But they have spelt *ai* as *ay*: *au* as *av* in the body of the Dictionary. But this conversion is not given in the table by them. When the Tamil words *entai*, *tantai*, *nantai* are given in the introduction, the final *ai* is spelt as *ay*. The word 'nantai' is not found in the Tamil Lexicon. But Caldwell has cited this word in his Comparative Grammar. This form is a rare one and not found by me until now in any literature. I hope to find this form one day. Another important information is when Caldwell transcribed this word, he did it as *nantey*: *ai* as *ey*. But Burrow and Emeneau have changed it to *nantay* without giving any reasoning in the dictionary. Just as they have changed *ai*, the word with *aḷapetai* (extra long vowels or consonants found generally in poetry) in Skt called *pl̥t̥ua*, the authors in general have spelt without the extra length except in a few instances. The *aḷapetai* of vowels has followed systematically, a rule, has been recently demonstrated in an article. (2) The spelling of such words should not be changed without giving valid reason.

In the table, *n* and *ṇ* are given as separate phonemes in Tamil. But in the footnote, the authors have noted, "whether they are one or two phonemes is not yet clear". The six clusters *ṅk*, *ṅc*, *nt*, *mp*, *ṇt*, *ṇr*, are given



with the homorganic nasal and stop as phonemic clusters. But they have noted *n*, *m*, *ñ*, as three nasal phonemes. The others are not assigned phonemic status. How they have found a place in the table is also not clarified by them. It can be assumed that the six nasals of Tamil might have been assigned phonemic status by the authors.

In several instances, the corresponding words are identified on the basis of meaning resemblances. Both authors have accepted this fact also. For instance, *elu*, *elutal*, 'to lift, to rise'. With those words, the meaning *etu*, *tuukkutal* is also noted by them. The entry is 723. In the phonemic form and in taking the tense suffixes, both sets are different. One set will take *eluntaan*, *eluvaaan*, *elukiraan*. Another will take *etuttaan*, *etuppaan*, *etukkiraan*, they are different. In that section under b, *eccari*- the meaning 'warning' is also added. This word, in form and meaning cannot find a place in this lot. In the supplement under this number, the meanings *erukku*, *tundikkal* are also given, whether they should be added in the sections f or b has not been mentioned by the authors.

When the re-editions of the Dravidian etymological dictionary are brought out by the Oxford University Press, the following amendments should be made for the benefit of scholars. All language forms should be phonemicized. The cognates left out from the literary and non-literary languages should be added in the Dictionary. Changes in the spelling forms should be abandoned. Even though the reconstructed base forms have some deficiencies or uncertainties, they should be given. If it could not be given, then the name of the Dictionary should be changed to Dravidian Cognate Dictionary.

The history of the languages and all sound changes cannot be completely gauged in an etymological dictionary. Cognate, phrase and clause dictionaries have to be composed for a full picture of the characteristics of the Dravidian family of languages. They should also be attempted. The etymological dictionary compiled by Burrow and Emeneau is not the first attempt in this language family. But this is the foremost effort in the history of research in Dravidian studies. For studies in comparative linguistics and in word formation in Dravidian, this Dictionary will be of immense use. The progress in research in Dravidian can be gauged by the amount of correc-

tions made in this Dictionary. The Dictionary will serve as a barometer to measure future research in Dravidian.

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### BA:LAVYA:KARANAMU OF PARAVASTU CINNAYA SU:RI

P.S. Subrahmanyam (Tr.), 2002, HB, pp. iv+xliv+382, Rs. 1,200/- (US\$ 120/-)

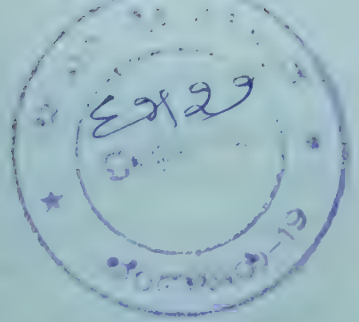
This magnificently-produced volume in 10 chapters with 3 appendices opens our eyes to Telugu grammatical tradition. Though Panini is mentioned, the Katantra pattern which is also the pattern of Tolkappiyam, is followed. For describing the grammatical tradition of Telugu, this work is indispensable. The English translation is pleasing and precise.

### CALDWELL AND A.R. RAJA RAJA VARMA ON MALAYALAM GRAMMAR

K. Raghavan Pillai, 1996, Demy 1/8, pp. 168, Rs. 250/- (US\$ 25/-)

A comparative study of the views of two prominent grammarians, this work attempts to compare the views of Caldwell and Rajaraja Varma (A.R.) on Malayalam, its relation with Dravidian in general and Tamil in particular. The work aims to analyze critically the introduction (*Pīṭika*) by A.R. to *Kēraḷapāṇinīyam*, vis-a-vis an evaluation of Caldwell's views on Malayalam grammar and its development. The discerning critic will find this work informative and stimulating.





## **A DRAVIDIAN ETYMOLOGICAL DICTIONARY AND ITS IMPACT ON COMPARATIVE DRAVIDIAN STUDIES**

**B. GOPINATHAN NAIR**  
I.S.D.L.

0. A Dravidian Etymological Dictionary (DED, 1961), its supplement (DEDS, 1968) and revised second edition (DEDR, 1984) by Burrow and Emeneau contain an assemblage of cognate vocabulary from a number of Dravidian languages, dialects and speech forms which are presented in an organized manner based on a tacitly worked out system of phonological correspondences eventually furnishing evidence for a genetic link among the speech forms involved in the Dravidian family. It is an essential tool that provides primary data for rigorous, scientific and rapid research work on comparative Dravidian viz. to reconstruct Proto- Dravidian forms by formulating precise rules of retention, change, innovation etc. to a great deal in respect of phonology and to some extent in morphology and consequently to arrive at the tentative sub-grouping relationships among the member languages, besides to study the meaning discrimination, cultural vocabulary, the history and origin of specific words, word formation etc. in Dravidian during the past four decades and attained substantial progress.

The impact of DED on comparative Dravidian studies over the past four decades can be gauged by discerning the overall development that took place during the pre-DED days beginning from Caldwell's time through the period of preparation, correction and revision of DED to the post-DED period.

### **1. Pre-DED period (1856-1961)**

The Dravidian languages as forming a closely-knit group were recognized as early as 1816 by F.W. Ellis. He had noticed only certain relation

ships among 7 languages viz. Tamil, Malayalam Kannada, Kodagu, Telugu, Tulu and Rajmahal i.e. the present Malto which he called as the 'dialects of South India.' It was only after Caldwell's work in 1856 that even the name of the family as Dravidian was fully established. Caldwell had enumerated 12 Dravidian languages, the additions being Toda, Kota, Gondi, Khond and Oraon (Kurukh). Besides he had also included a note on Brahui in the Appendix to his second edition (1875) and only 13 languages were known at that time.

Despite the dearth of rich, dependable source material on several Dravidian languages and comparative linguistic theory and technique only in its beginnings, Caldwell had proved beyond doubt that the Dravidian languages belong to a single genetic family and they are structurally distinct from Sanskrit. Besides he had portrayed a number of phonological and morphological aspects of Dravidian viz. phonetic correspondences of Dravidian sounds, quantitative variations of radical phonemes, convertibility of surds and sonants i.e. the absence of contrast between voiceless and voiced stops, the problem of the enunciative vowel, displacement of sounds i.e. metathesis, structure of Dravidian roots, gender- number system, cases, numerals, pronouns, tense formation and a number of other topics. Caldwell's opinion on these aspects have since then urged many Dravidianists who have further elaborated, strengthened and modified his views or sometimes contradicted him. His work was hampered by certain restraints. For instance, lack of first hand knowledge of the Dravidian languages other than Tamil and his preconceived notion of Tamil most probably as the ancestor of the rest of the languages. These factors occasionally led him to certain wrong conclusions or imperfect statements. Following Caldwell some of the early Dravidianists also held such a view.

Some of the shortcomings of Caldwell's treatment of certain problems in comparative Dravidian are: (i) Absence of reconstruction of Proto-Dravidian phonology and morphology despite the presence of a comparison of the sounds and forms in the different languages. (ii) Lack of exact conditioning factors for many of the statements. (iii) Less concern about the sub-grouping of the languages to show their close inter-relationship



though this notion exists. However, the work contains a lot of information covering a wide range of topics and furnishes certain brilliant insights.

Though Caldwell had already expressed the need for an etymological dictionary of the family, even after the lapse of nearly a century this was not fulfilled as noted by Jules Bloch in 1946. However, preliminary and partial compilation of Dravidian cognates began as could be gleaned from Gundert's Malayalam English dictionary (1872) which provides information under each Malayalam entry the availability of a cognate in one or the other or in all the five languages viz. Tamil, Malayalam, Kannada, Telugu and Tulu. Kittel's Kannada English dictionary (1894) gives more information in this regard as to the related words and roots in the five languages. Burrow and Emeneau have profusely used these works and the Tamil lexicon for compiling the cognate vocabulary in the DED. Meanwhile Grierson in LSI Vol.1V (1906) had furnished information on 14 languages and 4 dialects, the additional languages being Kolami and the dialects Korava, Kaikadi, Irula and Badaga. Aspects of Dravidian comparative grammar were attempted by a few scholars of whom the most prolific writer was L.V. Ramaswami Aiyar.

In the absence of a Dravidian etymological dictionary one has to make his own collection of cognate words since the first and foremost step in comparative reconstruction is to set up phonological correspondences within etymological groups.

Emeneau did field work in India from 1935 to 1938, collected descriptive data on Toda, Kota, Kodagu, Kolami and began etymological work with reference to those unpublished material in the 1940's. Burrow's series of 'Dravidian Studies' from 1938 to 1948 in BSOAS (Vol. 9-12) furnished abundant data for etymological groupings. Besides it laid the foundation for the systematic study of comparative Dravidian phonology viz. the problem of *i/e* and *u/o* alternation in SDr, initial vd. stops in Dravidian, development of PDr. phonemes \**k* \**c* \**n̄* \**y* in the daughter languages etc. Burrow (1968a) has stated that PDr \**l* >  $\emptyset$  in Kurux and Malto contrary to the earlier notion of the reflexes as -*c*/-*s*- in those languages. Burrow (1950-1) gathered data on Parji in collaboration with Bhattacharya besides those

on Gondi and Naiki. It became rather obvious that Kol-Nk-Par- Gad. form a sub-branch within Dravidian. Further work by Burrow and Bhattacharya added one more language Pengo with close genetic link to Kui, Kuvi to the number of known Dravidian languages.

In 1957 Burrow and Emeneau had completed the printer's copy of DED. Using the material from this Emeneau prepared 'A Sketch of Comparative Dravidian Phonology' for use in a course at the Summer School of Linguistics held at Coimbatore in 1959. This was later published by the Annamalai University in 1970. It is only a sketch as the title indicates - an introduction that summarizes the development in comparative Dravidian phonology up to that time.

A work on comparative Dravidian synonyms comprising 2000 entries in respect of Ta. Ma. Ka. Te. Tu. based on semantic classification, grouped under 22 sections viz. heavenly bodies, mountains, sea etc. more or less in tune with Carl D. Buck's (1949) 'A Comparative Dictionary of Selected Synonyms in the Principal Indo-European Languages' was published by the University of Madras (Sethu Pillai, 1959). This cannot be considered as a Dravidian etymological dictionary in the strict sense of the term because of the lack of attention paid to phonetic correspondences besides the inclusion of non-cognate synonyms. (c.f. Krishnamurti, 2001).

Krishnamurti's Telugu Verbal Bases (1957 PhD dissertation later published in 1961: 277-503) contains an etymological index comprising more than 1200 primary verbal bases in old and modern Telugu which forms the centre of attention covered by cognates from 20 Dravidian languages with reconstructions, which material has been incorporated in DED. This can probably be considered as the incipient stage of the preparation of a true Dravidian etymological dictionary.

## 2. Preparation and revision of DED (1961-1984)

The DED is a collection of groups of etyma which have been extracted with their meanings from several published and unpublished sources



such as lexicon, dictionaries, grammars, field-notes etc, on the various languages and dialects. The citation of comparative vocabulary in DED begins with Tamil to Brahui within each serially numbered group of etyma in a fixed order occurring from the southern to northern region or in one or the other languages which have an available cognate and the Devanagari alphabetical order adopted in the literary Dravidian languages is followed. The 20 languages are arranged in the following order with abbreviations viz. Ta. Ma. Ko. To. Ka. Kod. Tu. Te. Kol. Nk. Pa. Ga (Oll) Ga(S). Gon. Kon. Kui, Kuwi. Kur.Malt. Br. The edition contains an introduction with a table of phonetic correspondences (xii-xiii) followed by 4572 numbered entries (1-385), word indexes for individual languages (387-574), an index of English meanings (575-604) and an index of flora (605-609). The authors have not provided PDr. forms for each etymological group. Despite the fact that many of the PDr. phonetic correspondences are known satisfactorily there are many especially for the Kota, Toda, Kolami, Parji which were uncertain at that time and to know the exact conditioning factors for the change as well as to provide explanations for the residual items more intensive study was needed.

Besides the aim of this dictionary is to provide data for detailed comparative studies and not to give the end results, which are often tentative. However, the etymological groupings have been attained by tacit reconstructions as could be gleaned from the table of phonetic correspondences provided in the dictionary (1961: xii-xiii). The table provides major reflexes of vowels, consonants and consonant clusters in the various languages. The manner in which the etymological groups have been arranged itself is suggestive of the reconstructed phonemes rather with the imposition of the Tamil alphabetical order. Though the criterion of phonetic semantic grounds used for establishing the etymological groups is sound and upholds the majority of instances, certain entries are found to be tentative which need further elucidation as pointed out by several reviewers of DED (cf. Krishnamurti, Subrahmanyam, Zvelebil Steever and others). A noteworthy feature of this dictionary is its broad coverage of languages, data on some of which have been depicted for the first time. For instance, the vocabularies of Toda, Kota, Kodagu from Emeneau's unpublished field notes:

Burrow and Bhattacharya's field work in India in 1950-1, 1957-8, and again in 1964-5 and 1966 have enriched the dictionary by the addition of

new lexical items from many CDr. languages viz. Parji, Kolami, Ollari, Gadaba, Naiki, Gondi, Kui, Pengo and Manda. The last two have been discovered since the publication of DED 1961. Subsequently the authors have updated the work by the addition of three supplements where further deletions, corrections and revisions were made.

(i) Dravidian Borrowings from Indo-Aryan 1962 (DBIA) comprises 336 entries; each representing a group of words identified as common Dravidian borrowings from Indo-Aryan, which are to be avoided in an etymological dictionary.

(ii) A Dravidian Etymological Dictionary: Supplement 1968 (DEDS) contains 890 new entries S1 to S 889. It includes 22 languages; the additions being Pengo and Manda wherein cognates from three languages have been included. It is further enriched with fresh data from Gondi, Konda, Kui, Kuwi, Pengo and Manda. It has 77 new entries listed as S<sub>2</sub> 1 to S<sub>2</sub> 77 (Pp. 475-476).

(iii) Dravidian Etymological Notes 1972 (DEN) comprises two extensive articles which appeared in JAOS (Vol. 92. pp. 397-418; 475-491.) and include new cognate groups. Besides corrections to the old ones, additions were made partially based on the available forms especially with regard to dialects viz. Tiya dialect of Malayalam, Kannada dialects, the Koya dialect of Gondi and Tulu. Furthermore it contains cognates from three southern claimants to the status of new languages viz. Betta Kuruba, Belari, Koraga and the number of languages has been increased to 25.

DEDR (1984) incorporates all supplements and fresh data from old and new languages. The number of languages and speech forms has risen to 28; the new ones are Irula, Palu Kurumba and Alu Kurumba. It has 5569 entries including nearly 1000 entries added beyond those of DED 1961. Besides 61 entries consisting newly identified items of Indo-Aryan or other non-Dravidian origin are included in the Appendix which constitute a supplement to an earlier volume, DBIA, 1962 followed by indexes of words of individual languages (515-820). Concordances to the first edition of DED and its supplements DEDS and DEN occur at the end of the volume (825-853).



### 3. Table of phonetic correspondences in DEDR

The table of phonetic correspondences in DED is reproduced in DEDR with minor modifications. The total number of languages shown in DED is 20 whereas in DEDR 21; Nk. is shown as Nk. of (Ch.); Ga (Oll.) and Ga(S) shown as separate dialects is combined to one Ga (Oll.). Pengo and Manda have been added between Konda and Kui. A few additional footnotes also have been added. The post-DED work with regard to comparative phonology has progressed considerably and many of the conditioning factors for the various reflexes of a PDr sound in respect of several languages were clearly formulated. For instance, various assimilation, dissimilation, vowel harmony, deletion etc, with regard to one or the other languages or groups of languages. Such information suitably accommodated would have been better and the table could have been updated. However, the authors have refrained from this for the same reasons stated in the first edition. One or two misprints crept in here may be corrected.

The PDr. sequence *\*nd* shown in the phonetic correspondence table in DEDR should be corrected as *nt*.

The reflex of PDr *\*nr* shown as *nn* in Malayalam be corrected as *nn*.

For PDr *\*l* one of the reflexes shown under Kota as *g* to be replaced by  $\emptyset$  (c.f. the phonetic correspondence charts in Subrahmanyam 1983:46-49).

The authors are well aware of the usefulness of furnishing detailed statements on conditioned reflexes but warrant their dispensation by saying that the chart envisages only the correspondences which are direct descend from PDr. Despite providing several alternations of which some are known conditioned variants such as *\*k* [FV > *c* [FV in Ta. Ma. Te. except when not followed by retroflex consonant in Te.; others are suspected variants where accurate statements of the conditioning are uncertain. Since a summary table of this sort depicting an exhaustive comparative phonology is not

the aim, which on the contrary would have swollen the work. Their primary object is only to provide material for detailed further study.

In the phonetic correspondence chart furnished in DEDR, Burrow & Emeneau have reconstructed 3 nasals for PDr. *\*m \*n \*ɳ* and say that Ta. & Ma. seem to have evidence for two phonemes or possibly merely allophones in PDr. i.e. dental and alveolar which is unsure. There are many instances of loss of initial *n*. Kolami and Nk. seem to carry this tendency further. However, even now it is debatable whether 3, 4 or 5 nasals to be reconstructed for PDr. (c.f. discussion by Krishnamurti (2003), Subrahmanyam. (2004) Gopinathan (2004).

Compared to phonological reconstruction, the data in DEDR is inadequate in several respects for a thorough morphological reconstruction.

#### 4. Meaning discrimination in etymological groups

The semantic problems in the work have been handled, rather in a conservative manner, which the authors themselves are well aware of. It seems at times difficult to find out a probable connection between the series of meanings for two or more groups of etyma except in an adhoc manner. In such cases there is much room for differences of opinion as to what semantic developments are possible or feasible.

The meaning 'punishment' ascribed to the Ma. form *kayarkka* under entry No. 917 is not found in Malayalam Lexicon, C. Madhavan Pillai's Malayalam English Dictionary, and *Śabdatārāvali*. It is also not found in the cognates for Ka.Te.Kur. However, Gundert's Malayalam English Dictionary gives this meaning along with other meanings viz. 'to start up in anger, quarrel, reprove, punish'. It seems that this is a mistake, which has to be eliminated.

DEDR 3196 *tān* 'oneself' and 3162 *tām* 'themselves' showing the sg./pl. distinction put under two different entries could be combined into a single entry.



Since some of the dictionaries and lexicons have at times given a number of synonyms for the same word, from the point of view of economy some pruning has to be done in such instances when they are to be represented in other bi/multilingual and etymological dictionaries. One has to be selective in such cases but at the same time cautious that no essential details have been left out.

As remarked by Steever (1985) relevant morphosyntactic data and compound verb formations etc. can be accommodated under suitable entries which would only enhance the scope of the DED.

We hope that the native scholars in the major literary languages and all those working in the non-literary and tribal languages in course of time may unearth from literary and non-literary sources new forms that have to be included in the individual entries, may suggest corrections, better alternative groupings of some of the etyma, supply cognates from new tribal speech forms, identify and eliminate borrowed items etc. All these will supplement to the greater utility of DED.

## 5. Comparative Dravidian studies (1961-1984)

Burrow and Emeneau's DED and Krishnamurti's TVB opened a new era in Dravidian comparative studies. Burrow and Bhattacharya's descriptive accounts of Gadaba, Gondi and Kui (1961), Kuvi (1963) Pengo (1970), include etymological vocabularies wherein those published since 1961 have reference to DED entries. So also Bhattacharya's work on Naiki of Chanda. They have noted the characteristic changes in the languages viz. \*c \*l r l l t etc. Burrow (1976) prepared a short sketch of Manda grammar. The Manda vocabulary collected by Burrow and Bhattacharya was included in DEDR (1984).

Krishnamurti has been contributing profusely to the development of Dravidian comparative studies for the last half a century. He (1958, 2001) on 'Proto-Dravidian \*l in the original paper in the pre-DED days took only 40 typical etymological groups involving PDr. \*l and treated the develop-

ments in individual languages. But in 2001 he has re-examined it with reference to all language data from both DED and DEDR. He has observed that PDr. \**l* by its peculiar articulatory position and effort, has merged with almost every possible sound in the coronal region, obstruent, sonorant, affricate, fricative and glide viz. *r, l, ɭ, ʀ, s, c, ʃ, d, y* besides merging with zero in several languages.

Gopinathan (2001: 86-8) based on the Ezhava/Tiya dialect survey of Malayalam conducted throughout Kerala (c.f. Subramoniam, 1974) has pointed out that in Malayalam the reflexes and substitutes of PDr. \**l* viz. *ɭ, y, t, Ø, yj, yy, jj, gg, ʃ, ʂ, h, ɭ* to a large extent demarcate the caste communal and regional dialects of Malayalam. However, the developments of this sound in any of the Dravidian languages and dialects do not provide clear isoglosses, typically marking any subgroups.

Keeping Telugu as the centre of attention Krishnamurti's TVB depicts several aspects of Dravidian comparative phonology viz. Problems of vd. stops in Dravidian, the development of initial consonant clusters and *d-, r-, ɭ* and *l-* through metathesis and vowel contraction in Te. and Gondi-Kuvi groups of languages and several changes resulting the loss of vowels in unaccented syllables. He has made original observations on these problems. In the second chapter of this work dealing with etymological analysis he analyzed the verbal bases into roots and derivative suffixes in Telugu. He (1969) has proved conclusively that PDr. *n* [FV > *d* [FV in Br. In another paper (1969. 'Dravidian nasals in Brahui') he solves a problem in Brahui by showing that PD \**n* and \**m* split into *d/n* and *b/m* respectively in definable environments. The apical displacement i.e. shifting of alveolar and retroflex consonants to the position before the root vowel in Te- Kuvi subgroup has been dealt by him in detail (1978a). He (1978b.) has clearly established the conditioning factors for the change of PDr. \**ā* . *ē* in Parji where the change to *ē* occurs before original alveolar consonants. E.g. \**kal* > *kel* 'stone'. The vowel raising rule does not operate before the *ɭ, n* that resulted from retroflexes, thus \**kal-ɭ* 'threshing floor'. > Par. *kali*. Krishnamurti (1980) explains the lowering of older mid vowels \**ē* and \**ō* in Kui, Kuvi illustrating it from 18 etymological groups drawn from DEDS and states that these vowels in turn are resulted from \* (C) *e/o* C. -*a*- of PSCDr. and the PDr. \**e/o*



and \*o which did not result from contraction or apical displacement in the above environments are not lowered. He (1997) proposes the reconstruction of a laryngeal \*H for PDr. to account for the few reflexes of Ta. *aytam* represented as (h) in deictic forms such as *ahtu*, *ihtu* etc. However, there is difference of opinion among scholars regarding this.

Annamalai (1968) after collecting a number of etyma from DED has demonstrated that the rule of palatalization i.e. PDr. \*k- [FV > c- in Ta. Ma. Te. does not operate in onomatopoeic words.

N. Kumarasaswami Raja (1969) has proposed the reconstruction of an \*NPP sequence at PDr. stage albeit no extant language retains it to derive the postnasal vl. stops in Ka. and Te. depicted by the correspondences of Ta. Ma. PP: Ka. Te. NP. has been widely accepted.

Martin Peiffer (1972) after eliminating all non-Dravidian words dealt with historical phonology of Kurux in detail and made some new observation viz. Kur. *k* does not become *x* before  $\ddot{u}$ . The Appendix includes 195 Kurux entries with Dravidian cognates.

Bhat (1970) dealt in detail the changes of PDr. \*k in Kurukh. He has also examined the development of PDr. \*r and its reflexes in Tulu.

Zvelebil's Comparative Dravidian phonology (1970) is largely a summary based on Emeneau's Sketch (1970). It contains a synthesis of the results of all published works up to that time. It provides some fresh data on Tamil dialects and inscriptions and suggests the areas that need further investigation. He also (1971, 1970: 1993-4) discusses the origin of Irula centralized vowels; *i*, *ü*, *ē*, *ö*. In another article (1972b.), he examines the Problem of initial vd. plosives in Dr. Zvelebil (1967, reprinted in 1970: 184-187) has proposed three morphophonemic rules of Dravidian bases based on alternations conditioned by light and heavy syllable. All these have been extensively criticized by Krishnamurti, Subrahmanyam and others.

Subrahmanyam noted the change  $*nt > *\bar{n}c > \bar{n}$  after a FV or y in Parji. He showed that the long vowel before y in Te. bases resulted from an original short vowel through compensatory lengthening. In his Gondi book he presented the outline of Gondi historical phonology. In a series of papers he has unfolded several phonological problems involving the developments of To. vowels and consonants. For ex. PDr.  $*a$ ,  $*\bar{a}$ ,  $*l$ ,  $*! *r$  in To. The To. developments are complex and in many instances the conditioning factors can be seen only in the reconstructed stages. There are more conditioning factors in the case of short radical  $*a$  when compared to that of long  $*\bar{a}$ . He has also shown that PDr.  $*r > r, s, \emptyset$  in To. PDr.  $*! > t$  in native To. vocabulary and most of the To. words that contain  $!$  and  $l$  are loans from other languages. Subrahmanyam (2004) after examining in detail a number of cognates from DEDR formulates the rules of voicing and degemination of original stops in Kannada.

In the wake of the publication of DED, Emeneau has discovered new correspondences between Brahui and other Dravidian languages. Emeneau (1961a) proved that PDr.  $*c-$  changes into  $k-$  before  $*\bar{u}$ ,  $*\bar{e}$  in Kurukh, Malto, Br. of NDr. whereas in SDr. and CDr.  $*c- > c- / s-$  besides alternating with  $t-$ . In his book Brahui and Dravidian comparative Grammar (1962) Emeneau traces the development of Brahui vowel to the PDr. source. His papers on south Dravidian languages, vowel shift in Kota, Kodagu vowels, PDr.  $*l$  in Kod and Br. deals with detailed analysis of the phonological problems involved and furnish new insights. All these have contributed significantly to the development of Dravidian comparative phonology.

Considerable work took place in comparative Dravidian morphology in recent years. However, reconstruction of morphological categories and aspects are often confronted with controversies and uncertainties due to loss of contrast, obliteration of semantic shift, interpretation of analogy and sound change, lack of comparable data from several less known tribal speech forms, alternate possibilities of reconstruction and interpretation of facts etc. Aspects of comparative Dravidian morphology have been worked out by Emeneau, Krishnamurti, Subrahmanyam, Shanmugham, Zvelebil, Andronov and others.



Emeneau's contribution to comparative morphology include Demonstratives in Brahui (1961.a), Verb inflection in Brahui (1962.d), Dravidian verb stem formation (1975), Indian demonstrative bases: revision (1980.a) expressives in Dravidian (1987).

Similarly Krishnamurti's contributions include personal pronouns (1968.b), Gender number categories in PD. (1975.a), Origin and evolution of formative suffixes in Dravidian (1997.a). Here in this paper Krishnamurti has tried to establish that the so-called formative suffixes which currently signal intransitive vs. transitive in some of the languages of SDr. and SCDr. were originally tense and voice morphemes. Some languages lost tense but not voice; others have lost both the grammatical functions, thereby converting them to mere stem formatives.

Subrahmanyam's (1971) Dravidian verb morphology and Shanmugham's Dravidian nouns provide large comparative data and reconstruct the inflectional categories of verbs and nouns. Zvelebil's monograph on comparative morphology briefly discusses what has already been covered in earlier works. Steever's contribution to compound verb formation and certain morphosyntactic aspects of Dravidian is noteworthy.

A detailed treatment of comparative morphology incorporating data from several newly described tribal speech forms is yet to emerge.

During the period of collection of material for the DED, Burrow & Emeneau have discovered and written descriptive grammars for six Dravidian languages and published papers on several aspects of Dravidian comparative linguistics.

## 6. Treatment of certain Dravidian speech forms in DED

Burrow & Emeneau treat Ollari and Kondekor Gadaba as dialects of the same language and they are represented as Gadaba (Ollari) and Gadaba (Salur) in DED. They consider Naiki of Chanda as a separate lan-

guage and Naikri as a dialect of Kolami. Krishnamurti who did field work on Kondakor Gadaba on the contrary treat both Gadaba (Ollari) and Gadaba(S) as separate languages until they are proved to be dialects of the same language. Similarly he treats both Naikri and Naiki as separate languages. However, Subrahmanyam (1983) does not treat Ga (Oll.) and Ga(S) and Naikri as separate languages. The additional speech forms included in DEDR do not come under the purview of this work since they are later addition made in 1984.

The languages and dialects included in DEDR show that among the 8 additional speech forms incorporated here from that of DED, 3 languages Pengo, Manda and Koraga have sufficient cognates. Regarding the rest of the 5 speech forms they contain scanty number of cognate words viz. Irula (55), Palu Kurumba (7), Alu Kurumba (13), Betta Kuruba (26) placed between Malayalam and Kota and Belari (16) after Tulu. With this the phonetic correspondences of these speech forms with regard to the PDr. phonemes could not be set up, this may also be one of the reasons that restrained the authors from revising the phonetic correspondence chart. While incorporating cognates from Betta Kuruba, Belari and Koraga in DEN and later in DEDR, Burrow & Emeneau have averred that neither all of them nor even any of them eventually can be treated as independent rather than dialect status. The placement of Betta Kurumba between Kannada and Belari, Koraga after Tulu in that order is also tentative. Similarly Krishnamurti's placement of Kurumba between Kodagu and Toda and that of Koraga before Tulu is uncertain.

Two decades have elapsed since the publication of DEDR and it is time for another revision of it in the wake of fresh cognates available in a number of tribal speech forms not subjected to earlier comparative treatment, for instance, Ave and Avut spoken by the Khond tribes in Orissa in Central region, the former showing resemblance with Pengo and the latter with Manda (reported and fieldwork done by Ramakrishna Reddy (2002 and 2003); certain others viz. Kaikāḍi, Aḍiya, Aranāḍan, Mannān, Kāḍar, Paṇiya, Muthuva, Kāṇikkār, Muḍuga Urāli, Yerukala showing resemblances to one or the other languages and dialects in the Southern region.



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## **M.B. EMENEAU'S CONTRIBUTION TO FOLKLORE AND TRIBAL STUDIES**

**N. BHAKTHAVATHSALA REDDY**

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Murray Barnson Emeneau, a centenarian, was born in Lunenburg, Nova Scotia, Canada, on 28th of February 1904. He is an Indologist, Linguist, a Literary Scholar, an Ethnographer, an Anthropologist, a Folklorist, a Polyglot, a bibliographer, a comparative Grammarian; he is an amalgamation of all. To be specific, he is a scholar who worked on all facets of Human life. M.B. Emeneau, who retired as professor of Linguistics from the University of California, Berkeley in 1971, is still an Emeritus Professor and first member of the staff at the same University.

In the life of Prof. Emeneau, the year 1931 is very significant, which gave a direction to his academic life. He got his Ph.D. in 1931 for his dissertation on *vetalapancavimsati* of Jambhaladatta, which is a collection of tales in Sanskrit. In the same year, he published an article entitled "Confusion in Prakrit between the Sanskrit Prepositions *prati* and *pari*". Another important event of the year is in his own words, "... a new horizon was opened when Sapir arrived at Yale from Chicago in 1931. He brought the then "New" Linguistics, and I was an enthusiastic learner from him during the years 1931 to 1935 (practically a second Ph.D. course for me). I was exposed to methods of fieldwork on non-literary languages, including intensive phonetic practice, and analysis of material, but especially to Sapir's approach to Anthropological Linguistics, in which language is only part of the total culture, but a most important part. Since in it the Community expresses in its own way, 'verifies' its culture."

Prior to 1931, as he said "... when I entered the High School grades a few months after my twelfth birthday, I took all the subjects that were of-

ferred, including Latin and French, and in the following two years also German and Greek (the latter more or less on my own). At Dalhousie University, Halifax in the four-year B.A. Course Latin and Greek were my main study, but one of my instructors.... gave me an introduction to linguistics. The college Library, moreover on its open shelves had many of the works on comparative grammar and mythology by Max Miller.... these I devoured. Further B.A. at Oxford continued. My next move was to Yale Graduate School. There I taught Latin for five years until I gained the Ph.D. in 1931. My study had been in Latin, Greek, Sanskrit and Indo-European comparative grammar and the degree was said to be in Latin, Greek and Sanskrit."

This background clearly shows that M.B. Emeneau is not one in all but all in one. When he became jobless due to non-support to Indian studies and Indo-European grammar, some one proposed him to send to India on a research fellowship. With his academic background, he is having every chance to work on Sanskrit texts or grammar. But Sapir suggested him to study a Dravidian Language and specially pointed to Toda, as being linguistically a peculiar and unknown Dravidian language.

Thus, he landed in India during 1935 and continued for three years working on various aspects of Dravidian life. Thus, Edward Sapir has diverted him to Dravidian studies against his strong base in Sanskrit and Indo-European Languages. Again, it is Sapir who trained him to see language as communication of culture, a point where a linguist, a literary scholar, an anthropologist, forgets the boundaries of their respective disciplines. Thus, not only M.B. Emeneau but also all Dravidians should be grateful to a great scholar like Edward Sapir.

Prof. M.B. Emeneau's contribution to Indian and Dravidian Studies concentrate mostly on Sanskrit Folk tale collections in the beginning and then on Kota and Toda Tribes and their oral literature. Among his major contribution to Dravidian Studies is Kota Texts in four volumes (1944 a, 1946 a, 1946 b, 1946c) and Toda songs in one Volume (1971a). His study varies on genres like Folktales (1938d 1947a, 1940b, 1941a, 1942a, 1943b, 1943d, 1951c): songs (1937d, 1958a, 1965b); Life-Cycle Ceremonies (1939f, 1937 c, 1939b); Kinship (1939c, 1953d, 1946); Material Culture (1953a,



1937e); Namelore (1938a, 1948a, 1976a, 1978a); Game (1937-38), Community oriented (1940a, 1963a, 1938b, 1939d, 1939e, 1953c,) and on Stylistics (1969c). Ritual Structure and Language structure to Todas (1974a), Style and Meaning in an oral literature echo-word motif in Dravidian languages (1938d, 1939g) are worth to be mentioned.

He edited *vetalapancavimsati* of Jambhaladatta for his Ph.D. Dissertation (1931a) and the same was published in 1934 (1934a). Other articles include "An interpolation in Manuscripts of the *Brhatkathamajari* (1933b), Story of Vikrama's birth and accession (1935a), Central Asiatic Versions of the *Vetalapancavimsati* (1936a) and *Sinduvāra* tree in Sanskrit literature (1944d) with Archer Taylor, an exponent for proverb studies, he collected Annamese, Arabic and Panjabi Riddles (1946).

Among his reviews, nine are on Folktale collections or studies (1946e, 1951h, 1956b, 1959e, 1962i, 1965f, 1967c, 1975d), one on Community Study, one on Tribal Art (1952d) and another on *Singer of Tales* (1962h) by Albert B Lord. Albert B Lord, who is a true disciple, postulated the Theory of Oral Formulaic as his Guru Milman Parry's contribution in a nutshell. M.B. Emeneau, a profound Sanskrit scholar and Indologist, turned towards studying common people's oral literature.

During his stay for three years, he was able to collect a number of Kota Texts and Toda Songs. In connection with the fieldwork and methodology, he raised some of the questions for himself and answered them on the basis of his experience.

To quote some of his experiences:

1. (His informant)... seemed to adjust himself thoroughly to the artificial slowness, with occasional repetition of words .....dramatic gestures and laughing heartily at amusing passages. He evolved by himself a simple method of safeguarding the continuity of his longer texts by asking me at the beginning of each sitting to read him a rather large number of the text dictated on the previous day.

2. Almost from the beginning, the informant in his dictating commanded that highly evolved style with very long sentences which is so marked in most of the narrative texts.
3. The self-consistency in complexity is the best argument possible for the genuineness of the style of the texts. We can accept, I think, the stand that we have in them the natural story telling style of Tui (name of the informant). It follows that they represent also the natural style of Kota Narrative; for Tui was) as we have noted above) a good Kota Story teller and this, if it means any thing, means that in style and content he satisfied the aesthetic taste of the community.
4. The extremely frequent use of the first personal plural inclusive pronoun in its possessive form before such nouns as those meaning 'Kotas', 'Kota Villages', 'grand fathers' and the like, could be appropriate only if Kotas were addressed.

Emeneau's observations shows how much keen he is, in eliciting the data. Even before Milman Parry moulded Oral Formulaic Theory, the salient features of it were observed by Emeneau but he never attempted to give them a theoretical base. But he has mostly adopted the concepts of the Tale Type and Motif introduced by Antti Aarne and Stith Thompson. Those were the concepts of the era during that time.

During that period, Folklore, in one way or other was connected with folk literature. Most of the theories evolved in Folklore studies were based on Folktales or other genres of Folk literature. But Emeneau, was not flooded by that trend, but acquainted himself with multifaceted data pertaining to culture of a community. As he himself said more than once, it may be due to the influence of his guru Edward Sapir.

One only wishes that the interdisciplinary perspectives of Emeneau's research on ethnology, oral literature, tribal studies and language analyses were learnt and continued by his contemporaries and succeeding generations of Indian scholars. Emeneau reminds us of ancient philosophical



grammarians and intellectual giants like Aristotle and others. Our scholars hailing from literature had little regard and commitment for folklore, let alone tribal lore.

The later scholars, unfortunately, did not follow up the strong foundations laid by Emeneau for a holistic study of Folk and Tribal lore. Emeneau made it a meeting point for the scholars of different disciplines to work with a single concept. But unfortunately, the later scholars bypassed him and continued their own segregating studies on human society.

Scholars who entered the field of folklore during this period are with literature background. As is well known the elite dominated the literary scenario in the beginning of the twentieth century. If we go through the collections during the first two decades of the century, it was nothing but on women's songs. Then the situation has changed. Some scholars have specialized in editing the palm leaf manuscripts regarding the ballads. They have written scholarly articles on various aspects of the ballads covering theme, metre, poetics, aesthetics etc. The other group of scholars has concentrated on collecting the folk songs on various themes sung in different contexts.

Some of the literary scholars have taken initiative to collect folklore with commitment and love. In this period not only the critics and fieldworkers, but also the creative writers have shown much interest in it. Whatever may be the type of genre that they have taken for study, they never failed to establish that these songs also have the literary qualities, which are equal to that of classical literature. They have tried to explain the greatness and beauty of verbal lore and tried to establish that the folk literature, by all means, is equal to, if not more than, the classical literature. That is, most of these scholars concentrated on appreciation of aesthetics rather than analysis of it. But the Anthropologists on the other hand have ignored the aesthetic contribution of folk.

The present folklore scenario is different. In the name of folklore, in most of the cases, what is done is a data collection and labelling. In the

pretext of contextual study, whether it is needed or not, enormous data is collected, and somehow or other it is used for labelling. Likewise, in analysis, while finding out the meaning of folklore, still subjectivity dominates. Subjectivity always mars the scientific approach or the scientific study. To sum up, folklore like linguistics or for that matter any other discipline, is not a discipline with theoretical base. But it is valuable with variant data, and may not be understood meaningfully without multi-disciplinary approach. Such a pertinent field to become a scientific discipline, what has to be done is a million-dollar question before us.

The folklore research at university level, which is fifty years old now, has peeped into almost every aspect of the folk and folklore, pertaining to different genres, communities and regions. The folklore research during this period has spread into the areas given below. Anyhow, it is not possible to group those studies under one umbrella in its strict sense. It is only possible to say that these aspects have been considered in their collection and study. Sometimes, even one study might give information on genre, region and community etc.

1. Genre-oriented, 2. Region-oriented, 3. Community-oriented, 4. On Performing Arts, 5. On Fairs and Festivals, 6. Comparative-oriented, 7. Gender-oriented, 8. Tribal Studies and 9. Others

### **Folklore at a glance**

Folklore research and folklore as a discipline are established at international level. The concepts of folk and folklore have changed constantly. Folklore has been recognized as something that is connected with present and future lives of people, besides the past. The present day society is a complex one. It is due to constant change in the society and its life. So, its product, folklore, also is a complex one. The concept of folklore changed from a mere product to a process. The cultural diversity and group identity in contrast to the national pride and patriotism realized its presence. Tracing out the folk mind, which is the regulating force of the people got



momentum. Globalization and market economy shattered the tradition and culture.

It is disheartening to say that the situation of folklore research in Andhra Pradesh is not encouraging when compared to other parts of India and abroad. Institutions and scholars without a specific goal and role are working in the field of folklore and unable to cope up with the perspectives of the discipline. Even then, the folklore research in Andhra Pradesh is multidimensional and seldom multi-vocal. One hundred and fifty years of folklore research at a glance shall be:

a. Descriptive and appreciative studies, b. Studies towards origin, c. Comparative studies, d. Performance studies, e. Gender studies, f. Genre studies, g. Subaltern studies and h. Studies on group identity.

In a nutshell, the following are the characters of folklore research in Andhra Pradesh:

1. Folk literature, by all means, is equal, if not more to classical literature. *nisarga raamaNiiyakata*, *bhaavukata* and *aaradraa* and more in folk literature.
2. In most of the cases, the native scholars tried to adopt the western theories and concepts and tried to find out native examples. The scholars have done no critical evaluation of any theory or concept.
3. The literary scholars dominated the field of folklore and naturally, irrespective of the genre, importance was given to the text.
4. Studies on folk music are very limited. Even those studies tried to locate classical ragas and taaLam in folk songs. Studies on ethno-musicology have not been conducted.
5. Among the studies on folk arts, influence of performance theory is a recent phenomenon.

6. Community-oriented studies have dominated the field in recent years. Anyhow, the role and relevance of those studies, in the present day scenario, have yet to be established.
7. Comparative studies among the genres of Telugu folklore are yet to be started. The trend in comparative studies with other languages also is not encouraging.

There are a number of basic concepts generally underlying the study of folklore. For the sake of better understanding, those concepts may be classified into various groups. Popular antiquities, popular literature, oral tradition, oral literature, folklore, folk literature, which are coined earlier will fall under one group. The second group, mostly due to interaction with other disciplines, includes Cultural Anthropology, Ethnology, Ethnography, Acculturation, Enculturation, Social Anthropology, Anthropolinguistics, Ethnolinguistics, Ethnomusicology, Medical Anthropology, Ethnogeology, Ethnobotany, Ethnozoology, Oral History, Local History, Onomastics, etc. Somewhat recent terms like Folklore, Folklorisms, Folklorism, Applied Folklore, Folk life, Folk culture, and analytical concepts like Folkloristics, Folklorology etc., are other concepts one ought to keep in mind for better understanding of the study of Folklore.

The studies in the Humanities and the Social Sciences are about and towards 'man'. Every discipline, in one way or the other, has its own boundaries while approaching that end. Folklore is yet another discipline concentrating on 'man'. Whether Folklore as a discipline belongs to the Humanities or the Social Sciences, is a question. Folklore comes under Humanities because of verbal folklore. Here the approach is mostly from the aesthetic point of view. Folklore comes under Social Sciences because it deals with culture. So, Folklore has dual affiliations. Folklore, because of its dual affiliation, demands an inter-disciplinary study and inter-disciplinary approach.

The concept of folklore as data is very old and is treated as raw material by various disciplines as part of their study. Some disciplines have



even defined folklore from their points of view. For anthropologists, folklore is a part of culture but not the whole of culture. Now the situation is different. Of late change has clearly taken place in the directions as well as approaches of these disciplines, from "little tradition"; from "great personalities" to "group interaction and integration". In this process, much importance is assigned to folklore by these disciplines as a data, which is the product of a "group" rather than an individual. That is to say, a historian, an anthropologist, a sociologist, a psychologist, a linguist or a literary scholar, besides his own data, also approaches or consults the folklore data. For all analytical and practical purposes, they firmly stand on their own basic discipline. To them, folklore is yet another data source for their approach or study. To be precise, he may be a historian, an anthropologist or literary scholar but shall not become a folklorist.

When folklore as a data attracts more than one discipline, naturally it needs inter and multi-disciplinary approaches in its study. Here we need a 'folklorist' rather than a historian or an anthropologist or literary scholar. It can, therefore, be assumed that the folklore as data is a multifaceted one, not in fragments but an integrated whole. It can be understood properly only through inter and multi-disciplinary approaches. Then a scholar, who studies the folklore along these lines, shall be a folklorist.

It is very easy to argue on these lines, but it is not that easy to translate it into practice. Like folklore, other disciplines also in one way or the other, follow inter and multi-disciplinary approaches and concentrate on integrated holistic results. Then what is the specialty that can be assigned to folklore as a discipline?

In this context, it may not be out of place to list the groundbreaking research contributions of Prof. M.B. Emeneau as a source of learning for the generations of Indian folklorists to come.

- 1931 Jambhaladatta's version of the Vetālapancavimsati. Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University. (See 1934a)
- 1933 An interpolation in some MSS. of the Brhatkathamānjari. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1933. 821-30.

- 1934 Jambhaladatta's version of the Vetalapancavimsati. *American Oriental Series* 4. pp. xxiv, 156. New Haven: American Oriental Society (Text published in Devanagari script by N.A. Gore, Poona, 1952. Reprinted, Kraus Reprint Corporation, New York, 1967.)
- 1935 A story of Vikrama's birth and accession. *JAOS* 55. 59-88.
- 1936 Central Asiatic Versions of the Vetalapancavimsati. *Poona Orientalist* 2.3.38-41, 4.8-10
- 1937 a Toda marriage regulations and taboos. *AA* 39. 103-12. (Reprinted in DLEF, pp. 224-32.)
- b The songs of the Todas. *PAPS* 77. 543-60. (Reprinted in DLEF, pp. 258-69.)
- c Toda garments and embroidery. *JAOS* 57. 277-89.
- 1937-38 Ritual games of the Kotas. *Bulletin of the Rama Varma Research Institute* 5. 114-22, 6. 1-6.
- 1938 a Personal names of the Todas. *AA* 40. 205-23. [Reprinted in DLEF, 286-302.]
- b Toda culture thirty-five years after: an acculturation study. *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* 19. 101-21. [Reprinted in DLEF, 303-17.]
- 1938 An echo-word motif in Dravidian folk-tales. *JAOS* 58. 553-70. [Reprinted in DLEF, 357-70.]
- 1939 a Toda menstruation practices. *A Volume of Eastern and Indian studies presented to Prof. F.W. Thomas on his 72nd birthday*, Ed. by S.M. Katre and P.K. Gode, pp. 82-84. Born bay: Karnatak Publishing House (for New Indian Antiquary). [Reprinted in DLEF, pp. 318-20]



- b Kinship and marriage among the Coorgs. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Letters*, 4.1. 123- 47. 4.4.123.47. [Reprinted in DLEF, pp. 333-56.]
- c The Christian Toda. *PAPS* 81. 93-106. [Reprinted in DLEF, pp. 321-32.]
- d The singing tribe of Toda. *Asia* 39. 460-64
- e Was there cross-cousin marriage among the Sakyas? *JAOS* 59. 220-26.
- f Another example of the echo-word motif in Dravidian folk tales. *JAOS* 59. 503-5. [Reprinted in DLEF, 371-73.]
- g Review of Social and physical anthropology of the Nayadis of Malabar, by A. Aiyappan, and The Maria Gonds of Bastar, by W.V. Grigson *JAOS* 59. 129-33.

1940 a A chatelaine from Coorg, South India. *Man* 40. 81-82.

- b A classical Indian folk-tale as a reported modern event: the Brahman and the mongoose. *PAPS* 83. 503-13. [Reprinted in DLEF, 374-82.]

1941 a The faithful dog as security for a debt: a companion to the Brahman and the mongoose story-type. *JAOS* 61. 1-17. [Reprinted in DLEF, 383-412.]

- b Language and social forms: a study of Toda kinship terms and dual descent. *Language, culture, and personality: essays in memory of Edward Sapir*, Ed. by L. Spier, A.I. Hallowell, and S.S. Newman, pp. 158-79. Menasha, Wis.: Banta Publishing Company. [Book reprinted, Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1960.] [Reprinted in DLEF, 233-57.]

1942 A further note on the faithful dog as security for a debt. *JAOS* 62. 339-41. [Reprinted in DLEF, 409-12]

- 1943 a Studies in the folk-tales of India. I, Some origin stories of the Todas and Kotas. *JAOS* 63. 158-98. [Reprinted in DLEF, 413-26.]
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- 1944 a Kota texts, part one. *UCPL* 2. viii, 1-192. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. [Reprint of pp. 1-14. in DLEF, 465-81, and of 15-35 in DLEF, 64-90.]
- b The sinduvara tree in Sanskrit literature. *UCPCP* 12. 333-46.
- 1945 (With Archer Taylor). Annamese, Arabic, and Punjabi riddles. *JAF* 58. 12-20.
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- 1947 Studies in the folk-tales of India. III, Jain literature and Kota folk-tales. *JAOS* 67. 1-13. [Reprinted in DLEF, 445-64.]
- 1948 Taboos on animal names. *Lg.* 24. 56-63. [Reprinted in DLEF, 201-9.]
- 1951 a Notes on the Kalakacaryakatha. *JAOS* 71. 174-77.



- b Review of Myths of Middle India, by Verrier Elwin. *JAF* 64. 329-30.
  
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- b The Todas and Sumeria - a hypothesis rejected. *AA* 55. 453-54. [Reprinted in DLEF, 61-63.]
  
- c Dravidian kinship terms. *Lg.* 29. 339-53. [Reprinted in DLEF, 123-38.]
  
- 1956 Review of tribal myths of Orissa, by Verrier Elwin, and The Parji language, by T. Burrow and S. Bhattacharya. *JAF* 69. 190-92.
  
- 1958 Oral poets of South India- the Todas. *JAF* 71. 312-24. (Issue no. 281 of the Journal was republished as *Traditional India: structure and change*, Ed. by Milton Singer (Publications of the American Folklore Society, Bibliographical Series, vol. X; Philadelphia: American Folklore Society, 1959); this paper, pp. 106-18. [Reprinted in *Language in Culture and society*, ed. by Dell Hymes, p. 330-41 (New York: Harper and Row, 1964); DLEF, 270-85.]
  
- 1959 a Review of Indian animal tales, by Laurits Bdker. *Fabula* 2. 289-91.
  
- b Review of The oral tales of India, by Stith Thompson and Jonas Balys. *JAF* 72. 252-53.
  
- 1962 a Bilingualism and structural borrowing. *PAPS* 106. 430-42.
  
- b Review of The singer of tales, by Albert B. Lord. *AJF* 75. 67-68.
  
- c Review of Types of Indic oral tales, by Stith Thompson and Warren E. Roberts. *JAF* 75. 173.
  
- 1963 Ootacamund in the Nilgiris: some notes. *JAOS* 83. 188-93.
  
- 1965 a Toda dream songs. *JAOS* 85. 39-44.

- b Toda Verbal art and Sanskritization. *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Baroda 14. 273-79 (Dr. Benoytosh Bhattacharya Memorial Number).
- c Review of *The thief of love: Bengali tales from court and village*, by Edward C. Dimock, Jr. *Western Folklore* 24. 215-16.
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- 1971 *Toda songs*. pp. xlviii, 1004. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- 1974 Ritual structure and language structure of the Todas. *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 64. 6. Pp. 103. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society.
- 1975 Review of *Tawi tales: folk tales from Jammu*, by Noriko Mayeda and W. Norman Brown. *JAOS* 95. 563-64.
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## **CONVERGENCE IN CENTRAL INDIA: EXPLORATIONS INTO A MICRO-LINGUISTIC AREA**

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"Inter-influences between the three families have been intense, and this central area, when completely known linguistically, may well prove to be a classic example of a linguistic area as defined by Emeneau in 1956. Much that characterizes all India as a linguistic area will only be appreciated correctly when central India is better known than it is now." *A Dravidian Etymological Dictionary* by T. Burrow and M.B. Emeneau (1961: vi).

0. The above observation was made by these eminent scholars of Indian linguistics while referring to the identification and description of Dravidian tribal languages in the central Indian region as a desideratum. In their own words, "A remaining need is intensive descriptive work on many of the non-literary languages especially of this central area, as well as on the languages of their Munda-speaking neighbours and on the Indo-Aryan dialects."

During the last four decades, since the time of DED (1961), an intensive as well as extensive linguistic fieldwork was carried out on the tribal languages of this area and many research publications were brought out as detailed in Ramakrishna Reddy (2001). This region is an ideal geographical area where the languages of three different families have been in active symbiosis for several millennia, exchanging cultural and linguistic features and materials (cf. Bhattacharya, 1972 and 1975). Throughout his works on Indian linguistic area, Emeneau keeps on referring to this region mostly lamenting on lack of the Munda sources for his own research findings (Emeneau, 1980). As a sequel to the breakthroughs propitiated by this great saviour of Indian linguistics, a modest attempt is made here to unearth the

impact of Munda languages on Dravidian and Indo-Aryan. Secondly it is shown that the transfer or diffusion of structural features do occur from the marginalized or minor group of languages into that of major dominating sections as well. This latter finding goes against the commonly held general conclusions that only minor languages converge towards major groups (Annamalai, 2001, ch. 14 and 15). Thirdly, unlike the much exaggerated Balkan linguistic area, the central Indian symbiosis involves three genetically different linguistic families, which ideally represents Emeneau's (1956) definition of linguistic area as "an area which includes languages belonging to more than one family but showing traits in common which are found not to belong to the other members of (at least) one of the families."

### 1. Ethnolinguistic setting

The notion of linguistic convergence is a phenomenon of carry over of features from one language to another under intimate contact situation. Convergence reduces distance between (even unrelated) languages. (Annamalai, 2001:208). Bilingualism and/or multilingualism is a prerequisite of convergence; Pidginization and creolisation may be other factors leading to convergence. Linguistic feature-resemblances across different genetic groups in South Asia (i.e. convergence) are interpreted in different perspectives: Historical (Emeneau), Areal (Masica), Sociolinguistic (Gumperz, Pandit and Southworth) and 'an integrated approach' (Annamalai).

*Genesis of the present problem:* Many striking but deviant (from main Dravidian) structural traits are noticed in the fieldwork on South-Central Dravidian languages of Kuvi, Manda, Indi-Awe, Pengo, Kui and Gondi. An attempt is made here (i) to identify the typological resemblances of linguistic systems across languages of the geographical region (irrespective of their parentage), (ii) to investigate the natural source and goal of the feature under investigation, that is, the donor and the recipient and (iii) to explore its implications for convergence studies in the Indian linguistic area.

Central India is the homeland of tribal populations belonging to at least three different linguistic families, namely, of Munda (Austro-Asiatic),



Dravidian and Into-Aryan (Indo-European). For centuries, the speakers of these languages have been living together exchanging cultural and linguistic traits among them. Unfortunately, there are no written records of any sort referring to the earlier linguistic situations, let alone on the interfamilial transference of linguistic features. Even a detailed descriptive study of any of the languages of the area shows the impact of the neighbouring languages on its lexical, phonological and grammatical structures. For example, the analysis of Manda, a Dravidian tribal language has guided the present author to identify several structural resemblances among the languages of southern Orissa (Koraput, Kalahandi, Rayagada, Nawarangapur and Ganjam districts) and adjacent districts of Andhra Pradesh. Though most of the convergent features discussed here are commonly found in the central Indian languages in general, I wish to concentrate on the transfer of features between tribal languages of the area, drawing comparisons with major languages wherever essential.

The current sociolinguistic situation in the area is that there is a widespread active bilingualism among the speakers of tribal Dravidian and Munda languages, as they are proficient in the local varieties of Oriya such as Desia, also known as Adivasi Oriya, which is the link language of the region. It is rare to find the Munda and Dravidian bilinguals in this area. One may notice some multilingual tribal groups proficient in tribal as well as the major languages of the region. In terms of prestige, the dominant languages like Oriya, Telugu, Marathi or Hindi occupy the higher layer and the tribal languages the lower. Within the tribal languages, it is hard to place them on the scale of prestige, though the numerical majority might lead to a dominant position, depending upon a particular local situation. There is more solidarity and fraternity among the tribals irrespective of the genetic affiliation of the languages and the speakers involved.

## 2. Methodology

In the descriptive study of Manda and Kuvi structures, I came across many a non-Dravidian feature and an investigation into the source of these 'deviant' traits has guided me to notice predominant diffusion of Munda and Indo-Aryan features into the (South-Central) Dravidian. The approach

adopted here is that of typological-historical as postulated by Emeneau (1956 and 1980). First of all, the shared grammatical rules across the genetic boundaries are identified on the basis of structural similarities recorded in the field data (mainly texts). Secondly, for each of the shared grammatical feature the source (i.e. the donor) and the goal (i.e. the recipient) are identified to determine as to which group the feature is natural, and where it is an innovation or borrowing due to contact. In the absence of historical records, this is done by comparing the languages concerned (especially Dravidian and Indo-Aryan) with genetically related languages outside the geographical contact area. On this basis, the convergence is attributed to emerge from one of the linguistic groups in close proximity. Finally, it is pointed out how the central Indian areal convergence forms a miniature linguistic area by itself, as an integral part of the macro- South Asian linguistic area.

### 3. Micro areas within the Indian linguistic area

Earlier studies on the Indian linguistic area (Bloch, Chatterjee, Emeneau, Kuiper, Masica, Burrow, Pandit, Southworth, Annamalai and the rest) mainly examined the linguistic facts from Indo-Aryan and Dravidian, generalising on the basis of their resemblances at lexical, phonological, grammatical and semantic levels. Emeneau identifies, on historical grounds, the direction of influence, in most cases, as being from Dravidian to Indo-Aryan (1980). His methodology is typological-cum-historical at the same time. My endeavour has been to investigate the place of the third important (aboriginal) group of languages, i.e. Munda (in conjunction with the other two), within the Indian linguistic area and its contribution to this hypothesis. The nature of the data recorded for some of the minor Dravidian languages, especially Kuvi and Manda, exhibit many a non-native features (Ramakrishna Reddy, 1980) which has great significance for convergence studies.

Mutual influence between Dravidian and Indo-Aryan is part of common knowledge now. However, apart from showing certain resemblances with the dominant Indo-Aryan languages, the Kondh Dravidian (Kui, Kuvi, Pengo, Manda and Indi-Awe) remarkably reflects certain similarities (in



phonology and grammar) with that of the neighbouring Munda languages. Some of the noteworthy linguistic features of convergence discussed in detail include:

- a) Echo-word formation
- b) Numeral system
- c) Person-object reference on the predicate or Speech Act Participant incorporation
- d) Distal action concord
- e) Plural action particle
- f) Quotative with complement
- g) Conjunction and coordination
- h) Yes-no question
- i) Case syncretism

In other words, central India offers a linguistic situation wherein a group of Austro-Asiatic (Munda) languages exert their pressure, through historical contact, on Dravidian, a case where the dominating (Dravidian) languages are influenced by the dominated (Munda) group. There are also several instances of Munda influence on the structure of Indo-Aryan, e.g., the numeral system of Desia Oriya. Central India presents itself as a mini-linguistic area with multidirectional convergence wherein the diffusion of linguistic traits from each of the three groups into the other two is noticed. It is a unique phenomenon, which Emeneau has been referring to, in his writings on linguistic area.

#### **4. Echo-word formation**

In several of his works, Emeneau has pointed out phonological changes that occur within a syllable in the formation of echo-words in Dravidian

and Indo-Aryan. To derive an echo word the base item undergoes either the consonantal and/or the vocalic change; for example in Dravidian, generally, the first syllable whether CV or V is replaced by *gi* irrespective of the class of phonemes in the base word, as in

- |     |                        |                      |
|-----|------------------------|----------------------|
| (1) | <i>puli - gili</i>     | 'tiger and the like' |
|     | <i>aavu - giivu</i>    | 'cow and the like'   |
|     | <i>madata - gidata</i> | 'fold and the like'  |

The second and the subsequent syllables do not show any alternation. In Indo-Aryan there is only a consonant change, that too affecting only the first (initial) syllable of a base word as in

- |     |                     |                       |
|-----|---------------------|-----------------------|
| (2) | <i>caay - vaay</i>  | 'tea and the like'    |
|     | <i>aalu - vaalu</i> | 'potato and the like' |

As against this general pattern of Dravidian and Indo-Aryan, we come across the following echo formation in Manda (a Dravidian member) wherein only the vowels of the base word are altered, and that too all the vowels depending upon the number of syllables, and there is no change in any of the consonants.

- |     |                 |                 |                      |
|-----|-----------------|-----------------|----------------------|
| (3) | <i>il</i>       | <i>ula</i>      | 'house and the like' |
|     | <i>eeey</i>     | <i>uuya</i>     | 'water and the like' |
|     | <i>himna</i>    | <i>humni</i>    | 'child and....'      |
|     | <i>merke</i>    | <i>murka</i>    | 'turmeric and....'   |
|     | <i>kusri</i>    | <i>kusra</i>    | 'dog and....'        |
|     | <i>dreekun</i>  | <i>duukan</i>   | 'insect and....'     |
|     | <i>kanerin</i>  | <i>kunaran</i>  | 'tears and....'      |
|     | <i>maangehe</i> | <i>muungaha</i> | 'antelope and....'   |

The syllable pattern, in terms of canonical forms, in Manda would be as follows:



(C) (C)V<sub>1</sub> (C)CV<sub>2</sub>CV<sub>3</sub>

Of these, the mono - and disyllabic bases are much more common than tri-syllabic words. However, the following rules of phonological change can be observed for Manda:

- i) The V<sub>1</sub> of base changes to *u* irrespective of its quality.
- ii) If V<sub>2</sub> or V<sub>3</sub> is any of *i*, *e* or *u*, it changes to *a*; if it is *a*, it is replaced by *i*.
- iii) If a monosyllabic base word ends in a consonant, the echo-word adds an enunciative *a* at the end (thereby converting the latter into a disyllabic).

The non-Dravidian phonological pattern of Manda can be treated as an acquired feature from the (immediate) neighbouring South Munda languages of Gataq, Remo and Parengi. Mahapatra (1976) provides data from Gtaq, Remo and Parengi showing the vowel alternations involved in South Munda in forming the echo-words. The rules of formation in these languages are similar to those delineated above (for Manda), as can be noticed from the following instances from Remo

- |     |              |              |                      |
|-----|--------------|--------------|----------------------|
| (4) | <i>semuk</i> | <i>sumak</i> | 'tree and....'       |
|     | <i>kiyan</i> | <i>kuyin</i> | 'cooked rice and...' |

Similar patterns of echo-formation are reported from Desia Oriya also e.g.

- |     |              |              |                  |
|-----|--------------|--------------|------------------|
| (5) | <i>git</i>   | <i>guta</i>  | 'song and...'    |
|     | <i>kumda</i> | <i>kumdi</i> | 'pumpkin and...' |

On the basis of the South Munda evidence, Mahapatra concludes that "echo formation by changing only the vowels of the base is an essentially Munda feature" (1976: 830).

From the above discussion it can be inferred that altering the vowels alone in forming the echo-words has become a stable feature of minor and tribal genetic stock, (irrespective of the parentage) and this feature has transferred from Munda to the Non-Munda languages of the area. Further, it is extended to the colloquial rural dialects of Oriya, the major language of the region.

## 5. Numeral System

Counting systems as found among the central Indian languages can be classified into two types:

- i) Decimal system - Telugu, standard Oriya, local dialects of Hindi, and Marathi
- ii) Vigesimal system - Kharia, Parengi-Gorum, Kuvi, Manda, Gondi, Konda and Adivasi Oriya

Of the two systems, the decimal basis is native to the dominating Indo-Aryan as well as the Dravidian, both synchronically and diachronically (Emeneau, 1957), in forming the higher numerals. But the second system (20 based counting) is synchronically attested through all the three genetic groups under discussion, i.e. Kharia, Parengi and the rest of Munda (Zide, 1978); Kuvi, Manda, Gondi and Konda of Dravidian; and the Adivasi Oriya and Sadri of the Indo-Aryan languages.

One of the research strategies proposed here to deal with this phenomenon as revealed by (observations of) the data, is to adapt the highest point of simple (basic) monomorphemic number-words as the basis for the composition of higher numerals. For example, observe the structure of the following number words for 1 to 21 from Kharia, Telugu and Hindi, representing Munda, Dravidian and Indo-Aryan respectively.

(6)	Number	Kharia	Telugu	Hindi
	1.	<i>moiñ</i>	<i>okaṭi</i>	<i>ek</i>
	2.	<i>ubar</i>	<i>rendu</i>	<i>do</i>



3.	<i>u?phe</i>	<i>muudu</i>	<i>tiin</i>
4.	<i>i?phon</i>	<i>naalgu</i>	<i>caar</i>
5.	<i>moloy</i>	<i>aydu</i>	<i>paanc</i>
6.	<i>tibru</i>	<i>aaru</i>	<i>che</i>
7.	<i>tham</i>	<i>eedu</i>	<i>saat</i>
8.	<i>thom</i>	<i>enimidi</i>	<i>aath</i>
9.	<i>thomsin</i>	<i>tommidi</i>	<i>naw</i>
10.	<i>ghol</i>	<i>padi</i>	<i>das</i>
11.	<i>ghul</i>	<i>padakondū</i>	<i>gyaarah</i>
12.	<i>gholsin</i>	<i>pandendū</i>	<i>baarah</i>
13.	<i>taak</i>	<i>padmuudu</i>	<i>terah</i>
14.	<i>toya</i>	<i>padnaalgu</i>	<i>caudah</i>
15.	<i>raba</i>	<i>padahaydu</i>	<i>pandrah</i>
16.	<i>rabe</i>	<i>padahaaru</i>	<i>solah</i>
17.	<i>tarsin</i>	<i>padiheedū</i>	<i>satrah</i>
18.	<i>dubu?ñ</i>	<i>paddenimidi</i>	<i>athaarah</i>
19.	<i>dubki</i>	<i>pandommidi</i>	<i>unniis</i>
20.	<i>ekri</i>	<i>iravay</i>	<i>biis</i>
21.	<i>ekrimoiñ</i>	<i>iravayokaṭi</i>	<i>ikkiis</i>

Note: (a) Kharia has monomorphemic number words from 1 to 20, and the compound formation starts only after 20. For example, 21 is decomposable structurally as 20 + 1.

(b) Both in Telugu and Hindi the basic monomorphemic number items are found up to 10 only. From 11 onwards the number words are of compound type. For example, in Telugu, it is (10 + basic number) and in Hindi, it is (basic number + 10). 21 has the following structure: Telugu: (2x10) + 1 = 21 and Hindi: 1 + (2x10) = 21.

Even from a synchronic point of view it can be argued that 10 is basic for Dravidian and Indo-Áryan, whereas 20 is basic for Munda. Zide (1978)

and Bhattacharya (1975) convincingly argue for reconstructing the vigesimal system as a feature of the proto-Munda. Kharia and other Munda languages make use of 20 as the base number to derive other higher numerals through the processes of multiplication and addition, as in

- (7) *ekṛi ghol* (20 + 10) = 30  
*ubar ekṛi* (2x20) = 40  
*u?phe ekṛi raba* (3x20) + 15 = 75

Both synchronic as well as diachronic evidence suggests that the vigesimal system of forming higher numeral compounds in counting is a linguistic trait of the Munda family of languages.

Formation of higher numerals in Manda (Dravidian) and Adivasi Oriya (Indo-Aryan) stand as representatives of the existing phenomenon of vigesimal system being adapted from the Munda languages. Manda (along with many other Dravidian languages) shows the Dravidian numerals only for 1 and 2 and the rest of the numeral words are borrowed from the local Indo-Aryan dialect of Desia. (*runḍi/ro* 'one', *ri* 'two', *tiini* 'three'....). But observe the formation of higher numerals in Manda:

- (8) 21 *kure runḍi* (20 + 1)  
30 *kure dos* (20 + 10)  
40 *duy kṛi* (2x20)  
99 *saari kṛi unis* (4x20) + 19  
100 *paas kṛi* (5x20)  
140 *saat kṛi* (7x20)  
200 *dos kṛi* (10x20)  
400 *kore kṛi* (20x20)  
520 *kore kṛi so kṛi* (20x20) + (6x20)  
800 *duy kure kṛi* (2x20x20)  
1000 *duy kure kṛi kṛi dos kṛi* (2x20x20) + (10x20)



With minor changes, the Indo-Aryan Desia also exhibits vigesimal system of counting in the same fashion as the above. However, neither standard Oriya nor the educated Oriya (of Southern Orissa) has the vigesimal system. They show only the decimal system. Thus, for example Manda, genetically a Dravidian language exhibits the formation rules of Munda numeral system with the Indo-Aryan lexical items, a perfect symbiosis indeed of the three families. Furthermore, it may be inferred that just as 100 ( $10 \times 10$ ) plays the role of a basic unit in formation of higher numeral compounds in a decimal system, 400 ( $20 \times 20$ ) plays an identical vital role in a vigesimal system.

## 6. Personal object reference

Manda and other Kondh languages show a unique morphological construction of marking cross-reference to object, on the verb morphology whenever the object is a first or second person. Observe the following instances wherein various grammatical and semantic relations like direct object, indirect object, goal, place, benefactive and experiencer are denoted in the object and its reflex is found in the verb morphology.

### 6.1 Direct object

- (9) a. *sannatan evan-ka hur-t-un*

Sanatan he-acc. See-past-he

'Sanatan saw him'.

- b. *sanaatan manka hur-da-t-un*

'Sanatan saw us'.

- (10) a. *pih-t-un*

'He abandoned (him/her/it/them)'.

abandon-past-he

- b. *pih-ta-t-un*

'He abandoned me/you/us'.

## 6.2 Indirect object

- (11) a. *evar edelka ru kata ves-t-ir*  
 they her one story tell past they  
 'They told her a story'.  
 b. *evar mañka ru kata ves-sa-t-ir*  
 they us story tell-us past-they  
 'They told us a story'.

## 6.3 Goal

- (12) a. *inelin piyu rii-t-i*  
 yesterday rain rain-past-png  
 'It rained yesterday'.  
 b. *inelin maa-dengata piyu rii-da-t-i*  
 our on/upon  
 'It rained on us yesterday'.

## 6.4 Place

- (13) a. *hiimña edel kuuñā-ña kuh - i*  
 child her lap on/at-sit-past-it  
 'The child sat on her lap'.  
 b. *hiimña nañ kuuñā-ña kuh-ta-y*  
 'The child sat on my lap'.

## 6.5 Benefactive

- (14) a. *even il je-n-un*  
 he house open-fut - he  
 'He will open the door'.



b. *even il je-ta-n-un*

'He will open the door for me/you/us'.

## 6.6 Experiencer

(15) a. *edelka nuumer ahi-n-ba*

she to fever catch nonpast-prgr.

'She has a fever'.

(Fever is catching her)

b. *niñka nuumer ah-ta-n-ba*

you to

'You have a fever'.

(Fever is catching you)

A comparison of (a) and (b) instances of (9) through (15), clearly indicates and testifies the observations made above. The finite verb in (b) instances has an extra element suffixed to the verb root in the phonological shape of:

(16) *-ta/ -da; -sa/ -ja;*

These particles are exponents of the underlying semantico-syntactic characteristics. Their occurrence is triggered by the constraints as already explained above. These elements can be treated as phonologically determined morphological variants or allomorphs of the same morpheme (in conventional terms). Among the earlier works on Kondh languages Winfield (1928) describes this phenomenon as "First and second person transition particles" and provides paradigms (pp. 101-111). Other works simply label the above (b) instances as "Special conjugation of the finite verb" without going into the details of meaning and use.

The particles in (16) can be alluded to have their historical origin in the verb *tar* 'to give'. In Tamil, Irula and Malayalam the verb "give" is translated at least into two lexical items, namely:

(17) a. *koṭu*

'to give' (to an unspecified recipient or a third person)

b. *taru*

'to give to first or second person' (i.e., to conversational participants)

The latter verb *taru* or *tar-* may be the origin of the suffix *-ta* and its phonological variants. The process might have involved the following steps: (i) Addition of *tar* as an auxiliary verb to the main transitive verb(s). (ii) Over a period of time *tar* might have undergone the process of grammaticalisation or auxiliation by which it is suffixed to the verb root, yielding thereby a complex verbal stem, which in itself started functioning as a verbal base encapsulating the semantico-syntactic traits detailed above (cf. Emeneau, 1975).

The (b) instances in (9) through (15) which exhibit the reference of participants incorporated in the verb, have no parallels in Dravidian outside the Kondh languages. Telugu, for example, does not show any difference in the verb conjugation whether the object refers to personal or non-personal (participant) pronouns:

(18) *raamuḍu manal-ni/waalla-nu cuus-inaa-ḍu*

Rama we acc. they-acc see past he

'Rama saw us/them'.

In other words, object incorporation cannot be postulated as a common characteristic of the Dravidian family. Then how did the Kondh group acquire this trait?

Cross-reference to participant pronominal direct, indirect and oblique objects in the verb with respect to their person, number and animacy is



a characteristic feature of the Munda languages (cf. Bhattacharya, 1975). These languages contain pronominal affixes distinct from pronoun, which serve the exclusive function of marking object incorporation. On the basis of pronominal incorporation, the Munda languages can be classified into three major types:

- (i) Those with object incorporation prevailing in all the three persons, e.g. Santali (Bodding, 1929), Mundari and other North Munda languages.
- (ii) Those with no object incorporation at all, e.g. Remo (Bondo), Didei (Gataq), Gutob-Gadaba and Kharia.
- (iii) Those with the object incorporation restricted to first and second persons only, e.g. Savara, Parengi (Gorum) and Juang (cf. Bhattacharya, 1975).

It is the last situation that finds a parallel in Manda (and other Kondh Dravidian languages), namely, restricting the object reference to the index of speech-act partners at the exclusion of the non-participant pronouns.

Savara and Parengi have separate suffixes of incorporation for first and second person, (singular and plural) whereas the particles of participant agreement in Manda are phonologically determined morphological variants (Ramakrishna Reddy, 2003c). However, structural similarity in the underlying semantic domain of the constructions is the point in focus in that it is rule convergence, though the form is reworked out from the Dravidian materials. Observe the resemblances of meaning and structural patterns between the (b) instances of (9) - (15) and the following finite verb in Savara and Parengi sentences in (19) through (24).

(19) *anin gij-iñ-t-een*

he see me did

'He saw me'.

Savara (Ramamurti, 1939:43)

(20) *ming e-nom t'anka-bo?yne-ta?y-om*

I to you rupee one I gave you

'I gave you a rupee'.

Parengi (Aze, 1973:249)

(21) *bubong-di e-ning oting-t-i?ng*

baby to me lean future me

'The baby will lean against me'.

Parengi (Aze, 1973:254)

(22) *booten poo-kun-pun-am-teen?*

Who stab knife belly you did

'Who has stabbed you in the belly with a knife?'

Savara (Ramamurti, 1931:25)

(23) *e-ning tay-ing*

to me give me

'You give it for me'.

Parengi (Aze, 1973: 276)

(24) *udubum e-ning dat'am ada?-r-ing-ay*

yesterday to me much thirst

'Yesterday I was very thirsty'.

Parengi (Aze, 1973: 263)

From the foregoing description, it can be concluded that among the languages of different families in central India, only the Munda languages have the trait of pronominal object incorporation. This feature is further constrained in Savara and Parengi wherein it applies only to the speech-act participant incorporation. Manda and other Kondh languages have adopted this unique feature through structural convergence through their long symbiosis with the Koraput Munda group.

## 7. Distal action

The location of speech-act participants forms deictic central point in the derivation of spatial adverbs like 'here' and 'there'. In Manda the physical space is distinguished into a three-term system:

(25) *iiba* 'here'*uuba* 'there (visible)'*eeba* 'there (non-visible)'



In other words, there is a basic two-fold division of proximate and distal and the latter in turn shows a further dichotomous distinction on the criterion of visibility (i.e. whether an entity is visible or not to the speech-act partners).

In Manda, there is an interesting semantic notion of relating any action or process (identified by the verb) with the location of the speech-act participants. If any action or process occurs in the proximity of the interlocutors, it is left unmarked on the verb. Whenever an action is carried out at a place away from the location of the speaker-hearer, this distal action is grammaticalised in the verb by a particle *-ka/-ga*. For this purpose the entire physical world is perceived in terms of proximate *iiba* 'here' versus the rest comprising distal *uuba* and *eeba* 'there'.

- (26) a. *sanatan juypeṭiya eeba/uuba id-ga-n-un*  
 match box there put there fu. He  
 'Sanatan will keep the matches there'.
- b. *sanatan juypeṭiya iiba it-n-un*  
 match box here put fu. He  
 'Sanatan will keep the matches here'.
- (27) a. *buura taamji-ka ṭaakan hii-ka-t-un*  
 old man his son to rupees give there past he  
 'The old man gave money to his son (there)'.
- b. *buura taamji-ka ṭaakan hii-t-un*  
 'The old man gave money to his son (here)'.
- (28) a. *nagur-ta buudayki-ka-t-ir*  
 river in immerse there past they  
 'They immersed (it) in the river'.
- b. *iiba buudayki-t-ir*  
 here immerse past they  
 'They immersed (it) here'.

The (a) instances in (26) to (28) with the *-ka/-ga* particle can also be taken as consisting of the meaning of 'moving away from the speaker-hearer's location' before the main action identified by the verb is implemented. This was the motivation in labelling the indicators of this feature (in other Kondh languages) as 'motion particle' by earlier scholars (cf. Winfield, 1928: 111; Burrow and Bhattacharya, 1970: 85).

Dravidian languages outside the Kondh group do not encapsulate the distal action in the verb. The semantic features of action occurring in a place other than the speech-act participants 'location' are grammaticalised only in Kondh languages. There exist parallel structures of 'distal action' in Savara and Parengi, two of the Munda languages in contact with Kondh languages. While analysing Parengi, Aze (1973:274) has identified this process as remoteness by saying "The action occurs in a different place than where the speaker is". Compare the following Parengi examples with (26) to (28) of Manda:

- (29) a. *no?n o?an la?-t-ay*  
           he dance hit future  
           'He will do a dance (over there)'.  
       b. *no?n o?an la?-tu*  
           he dance hit future  
           'He will dance (somewhere)'.

It may be inferred that Manda and other Kondh languages have been influenced by the neighbouring Munda languages to indicate remote action by manifesting a cross-reference in the verb morphology.

## 8. Plural action

Another interesting semantic feature of 'repeated or intensified action' is reflected in the Manda verb conjugation by the particle *-pa/-ba*. A Manda speaker is very particular in distinguishing whether a process or an action involves a single or many individuals or whether an act is performed



only once or many times. Observe the semantic nuances in the following sentences:

- (30) a. *taa vaani-ka ven-ba-n-un*  
 his wife to ask many times fut he  
 'He will ask his wife (repeatedly)'.
- b. *taa vaani-ka ven-n-un*  
 he wife to ask fu. he  
 'He will ask his wife'.

If one questions a person more than once, the Manda verb has to distinguish it in the verb morphology.

- (31) *nu peenda kaandin-ka pap-ka-t-eri*  
 one bundle bamboos acc. split many past they  
 'They split a bundle of bamboos'.

Here the action of splitting is repeated, as the target involved is not a single bamboo but a bundle. Even if a single bamboo is split, many times the verb will still mark the multiplicity of the act, as is the case with the verb 'swallow' in (32).

- (32) *even eeyu guh-pa-t-un*  
 he water swallow many times past he  
 'He swallowed the water many times'.

A habitual or frequentative action is also denoted by the same verbal particle

- (33) *aane dinapati tuugen tin-ba-t-u*  
 I daily wild figs eat repeat past i  
 'I used to eat the figs daily'.

The semantic domain covered by the *-pa/-ba* particles, is taken care of by adverbials in other Dravidian languages, whereas in Savara a Munda language, range of this distinction is expressed by an auxiliary verb *lan*.

(34) *aniñ kan-kan-lan-t-e-n*

'He abuses all people (i.e. it is his habit or nature to abuse).'

(Ramamurti, 1931: 28)

This apparent non-Dravidian feature of grammaticalising the plural action through verb conjugation is a diffusion from Munda to the Kondh languages.

So far, we have looked at five of the non-Dravidian grammatical patterns in Manda whose origin can be traced to the adjacent Munda languages. Manda and other Kondh languages are in geographical contiguity with South Munda languages like Savara and Parengi in Koraput and Ganjam districts of Orissa and also in Andhra Pradesh. But I have not come across any Manda speaker who has any knowledge of any of the Munda languages. However, there might have been a period when the Kondh speakers were active bilinguals (being proficient in a Kondh and a Munda language) and the bi-directional convergence might have taken place extensively. On the one hand, the Kondh languages have parallelism in interlocutors' incorporation with that of Savara and Parengi, on the other Remo, Didei and Gutob-Gadaba are like the Dravidian and Indo-Aryan languages in having no object incorporation at all.

Having looked at the impact of the Austro-Asiatic Munda languages on the Kondh Dravidian, we may turn our attention to the influence of the Indo-Aryan on certain grammatical structures of the Kondh group.

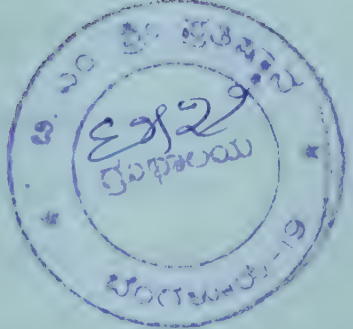
## 9. Quotative *-ki/-gi* in complement constructions

Manda has certain syntactic structures which resemble the Indo-Aryan patterns. One such trait is the borrowing and use of the quotative marker *-ki/-gi* 'that'.



(35) *naatanar isir gi "iin maajan aati"*

Villagers said that you rich man became

'The villagers told (him) "You are a rich man"'.  


(36) *edaak taaba isun gi "ning kapaal laavu"*

that for his father said that to you luck not exist

'For that his father said "You have no luck"'.  


These sentences resemble the Indo-Aryan type as found in such Hindi phrases as *usne kahaa ki* 'he said that'. In Dravidian, such reportative or quotative constructions are formed with the aid of a verb of speaking *anu* 'to say' after the report, as in the following Telugu example.

(37) *raamayya reepu vastaadu ani siita saroojatoo ceppindi*

Ramayya tomorrow come will having said-Sita Saroja with said she

'Sita told Saroja that Ramayya will come tomorrow'.

## 10. Conjunction and coordination with aar/aare

In Dravidian languages the conjunction of two nouns or noun phrases is achieved by suffixing a conjunctive to each of the NPs as *um* in Tamil.

(38) *raaman-um moohan-um vandaanga*

Rama and Mohan and came

'Raman and Mohan arrived'.

On the other hand, the Indo-Aryan languages use a conjunctive like *aur* to conjoin the two NPs, as in the following Hindi examples:

(39) *raam aur mohan calegaye*

Ram and Mohan left

'Ram and Mohan have left'.

Manda has borrowed the conjunctive from Oriya and uses it in accordance with the Indo-Aryan pattern for nominal conjunction as in:

(40) *būrka aar eenpatinbanan ranta haṣin*

tiger and beggar forest in went

'The tiger and the beggar went to the forest'.

(41) *kuulīn aar teelenṇ tayi*

Paddy and maize brought she

'She brought paddy and maize'.

The coordination of two clauses, in Telugu and other Dravidian languages, is expressed by rendering the first action verb into a conjunctive (participial) construction followed by the finite (main) verb.

(42) *aame vadlu dānci annam vaṇḍindi*

She paddy having pounded rice cooked she

'She pounded the paddy and cooked the rice'.

Manda has adopted the Indo-Aryan syntactic mechanism of co-ordinating the finite forms of both the constructions by the use of the coordinator *aare* 'and' as in the following examples:

(43) *uhi aar vanji*

pounded and cooked she

'She pounded(the grain) and cooked (food)'.

(44) *evan naatanarka aartun aare vesun*

He villagers to called and said

'He called the villagers and told (them).'

(45) *naṅka pihtatun aar hasun*

me leave me past he and go past he

'He left me and went away'.



Thus, it is very clear that Manda has borrowed the mechanism of conjoining the phrases and coordinating the clauses from the Indo-Aryan. On the other hand, in many Indo-Aryan languages the Dravidian type is gaining currency.

### 11. Yes-no question gi

It is a well-known fact that in Dravidian the 'yes-no question' is expressed by the clitic *-aa* added at the end of a word, phrase or a sentence. Manda also has a similar structural pattern, but it has borrowed the Indo-Aryan yes-no question marker *gi/ki* and uses it in place of the Dravidian form.

(46) *naa dukra jiiiban aa-n-un gi?*

my husband life become he question

'Will my husband come alive?'

(47) *aan eentihi iine taṇanta vaadi gi?*

I dance if you below come you question

'Will you come down if I dance?'

This looks like a simple replacement of a Dravidian grammatical function by that of an Indo-Aryan lexical equivalent, as the structure still remains typically Dravidian.

### 12. Dative-accusative (case) syncretism

Case inflection in Dravidian languages distinctly marks the dative and accusative by separate suffixes, whereas in Indo-Aryan these two distinctions are neutralized in that one and the same affix indicates both the cases. Most of the Dravidian languages or dialects which are influenced by the Indo-Aryan follow the latter pattern. Observe the following:

(48) a. Manda

*aan evanka aartu*

'I called him.'

- |   |        |                                      |
|---|--------|--------------------------------------|
| b.  | Telugu | <i>neenu atanni pilicinaanu</i>      |
| c.  | Hindi  | <i>maine usko bulaayaa</i>           |
| (49) a. Manda <i>aane evanka taakan hiitu</i> |        |                                      |
|   |        | 'I gave him some money.'             |
| b.  | Telugu | <i>neenu ataniki dabbu iccinaanu</i> |
| c.  | Hindi  | <i>maine usko payse diyee</i>        |

Dative is generalised at the cost of accusative; so is the case with Telugu dialects in contact with Oriya or Dakhini (cf. Gumperz for Kupwar situation). However, the Gondi exhibits a reverse situation in that it generalises the accusative marker at the cost of the dative.

(50) *har unditun sayin markan puttānun*

each one take five mangoes get

'Each one will get five mangoes.'

### 13. Desiderata and future work

There are several other facts of linguistic convergence in central India, which deserve further probing of analysis, description and comparison. Some of these include: (1) Glottal stop as a phoneme in Kuvi, Kui and Indi-Awe, where these languages have converged with the Munda group, (2) Adjectival concord in Gondi and Kharia, which feature has diffused from IA, (3) Word order: Dravidian is a typical SOV type, whereas both IA and Munda though SOV, still retain non-SOV features like prepositions, noun + modifier etc. The Dravidian has been the donor here. (4) Loss of object incorporation in Gutob-Gadaba, Remo (Bonda) and Gtaq (Didei) under the influence of Dravidian and IA; and (5) Finally lexical convergence (Emeneau, 1997) - where all the three groups have been donors as well as recipients. For example, Kondh languages borrow items of abstract thought from Oriya or Telugu, whereas IA has borrowed flora and fauna from Munda and Dravidian.



## 14. Summary and implications

The central Indian linguistic symbiosis has given rise to a sharing of traits across genetic boundaries. The (tribal) Munda languages have played the important role of donor for several of the features. There has been inter-transference of linguistic traits as well as material between several tribal languages, but this mutual convergence is not limited to superficial adoption of the forms. It is the underlying rule system that has diffused from one group of languages into the other, thereby creating a situation of common pragmatico-semantic area. Depending upon the idiosyncratic nature of a particular language, these underlying features are accommodated through various formal linguistic expressions.

We come across both the rule-convergence and the form-convergence in the central Indian languages under investigation. Because of the diffusion of the rule system over centuries of cohabitation, the three linguistic families have developed such a striking structural similarity. With the mutual influences between Munda, Dravidian and Indo-Aryan, the central Indian sub-area exhibits many a trait of a linguistic area. Further probing into the nature and direction of convergence in this region will only enhance our understanding of India as a linguistic area, which will be a fitting tribute to Professor M.B. Emeneau and his seminal works.

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The English translation enhances the merit of the original, providing an unambiguous understanding of it with maximum accuracy. An excellent translation of a difficult but most valuable text.



## **A NOTE ON NILGIRI TRIBES AND PROFESSOR EMENEAU**

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I have great pleasure in standing before all the learned scholars of linguistics and presenting the paper on the "Nilgiri Tribes and Professor Emeneau". As you are well aware, Professor Emeneau was born in Lunenburg, a place in Nova Scotia on February 28, 1904. He is a Centenarian, let us all wish him his 'Century' and pray the active Almighty to bestow upon him the best of health and many more years of life. Let us also hope that we rather arrange him a trip to his old place - I mean the Nilgiris for him to see the changes that have taken place during the past seven decades and record his views for us to know more about the language and community, which was his interest and the subject of scientific study and investigation.

Professor Emeneau is well known as an Anthropologist, Indologist and a Linguist as well. His doctoral thesis was on Classics and Sanskrit, but his post-doctoral studies led him to the field of Anthropology and Linguistics. Edward Sapir was responsible in introducing Professor Emeneau into the present field. Though he was a Sanskrit scholar, he wanted to know more about other Indian languages. He observed that "the geographical distribution, and the nature of the boundary in Central India between Dravidian speakers and the speakers of Indo-Aryan languages that descend from the invader language Sanskrit, are good evidence that Dravidian has been steadily retreating before Indo-Aryan. The Dravidian speakers of the farthest south, the Tamil-speakers early acquired a high culture with all the features of the North Indian Culture that was framed in Sanskrit. Even the grammar and the literary criticism of the Sanskrit culture were among the early borrowings and are the subjects of the earliest extant of the Tamil text. Tamil script is known from the Arikamedu finds of the first century A.D. And the presence of Ashokan inscription in the middle Indo-Aryan dialects

as far south as Mysore state in the third century B.C. is witness to the spread of Sanskritic culture southwards prior to this period - for who could have been addressed by Ashoka in Indo-Aryan dialects if not literate Brahmans who had settled in the South in some numbers on their missionary occasions." (Emeneau, 1954: 282-83)

The older supposition of the direct derivation of the Dravidian languages from Sanskrit, supposed by the Sanskrit scholars and a few Western scholars was disproved by Caldwell by having done comparative studies on non-Aryan Dravidian languages. He also ascertained that the orientalist who supposed the Dravidian languages to be derived from Sanskrit were not aware of the existence of un-cultivated languages of the Dravidian family, in which Sanskrit words are not at all, or but very rarely, employed, they were also not aware that some of the Dravidian languages which make use of Sanskrit derivatives, are able to dispense with these derivatives altogether, such derivatives being considered rather of luxuries or articles of finery than as necessities.

The concept that the non-Aryan languages spoken in India must be considered as a separate family was put forward by Sir William Jones in the year 1786. Following this, Ellis, F.W. (1816) recognized the Dravidian languages as a family. He included only seven languages (Ta, Ma, Ka, Te, Tulu, Kodagu and Malto). But Caldwell observed and divided the 12 Dravidian languages known at that time into cultivated and un-cultivated dialects in his monumental work in the year 1856. Under the impact of Caldwell's observations a few Westerners particularly missionaries and the then administrators paid some attention to the so-called un-cultivated tribal languages. The Volume IV of the *Linguistic Survey of India* (1906) adds three more languages viz. Kolami, Kuvi and Brahui, thus bringing the number of Dravidian languages to 15. The inadequate information found in the LSI was greatly felt by Emeneau. In the meantime, many scholars like L.V. Ramaswami Aiyar, S.K. Chatterji, and Jules Bloch clearly spoke of a Dravidian substratum in the evolution of Middle and New Indo-Aryan. After observing many ideas about Dravidian speech Emeneau determined to do a comprehensive study on non-Aryan languages spoken in India, particularly Dravidian. Therefore, he visited India as a Research Fellow of Yale University during the years 1935-1938. At that time, he did linguistic and anthropological fieldwork on the Nilgiri languages Toda and Kota. His



*Kota texts* was published in four volumes during 1944-46. He collected several types of songs used by the Todas, a pastoral tribe of the Nilgiri mountains. The extensive volume of *Toda songs* (1971) with texts, translations and ethnographic commentary is something marvellous and amazing. As he has been thinking to prepare a Dravidian Etymological Dictionary, he undertook that venture in collaboration with T. Burrow, Boden Professor of Sanskrit in Oxford University. He succeeded in bringing out the Dravidian Etymological Dictionary (1961) incorporating the lexical items of non-literary languages. Because of his tireless works on Dravidian languages, more than 21 languages were recognized as Dravidian family and was classified into three sub-groups, viz., South Dravidian, Central Dravidian and North Dravidian. The methodology, followed by Professor Emeneau in his works exploring the theoretical linguistic nuances on the basis of reliable data and its application in the description of a non-literary language will stand as a model to be emulated by many scholars and students, not only in the area of tribal language research but also on the analysis and description of any natural language.

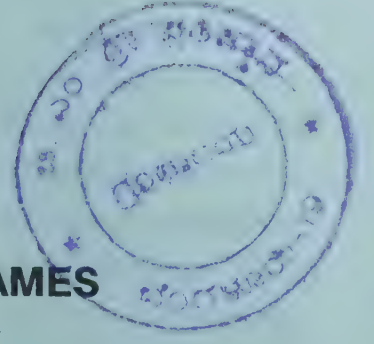
Professor Emeneau's demonstration of the phenomenon in South Asia, has, as he has said, "essentially an injection of ethnological thinking into diachronic linguistics"; it has provided a model for studies in other parts of the world, and strongly influenced conceptions of historical relationship among languages.

While concluding, I must not fail to quote one of the eminent scholars W.H.R. Rivers who published a huge volume on *The Todas* in the year 1906. He has richly contributed much on the life pattern of the Nilgiri people; but has not touched the speech behaviour of that region. Though there were a few works available, they are unsatisfactory in one way or other. Then came Professor Emeneau to go deep into the speech behaviour of the Nilgiris. His three years research has paved a clear path for other great scholars like Bh. Krishnamurti, P.S. Subrahmanyam, S.V. Shanmugam, N. Kumarasamiraja, B. Ramakrishna Reddy etc., to pursue the study thoroughly well. This led them for a meaningful contribution to the field of Dravidian Linguistics. No wonder, still this Toda and Kota of Nilgiris are the attraction of a good number of scholars, only because of Professor Emeneau.

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## FORMATION OF PERSONAL NAMES IN INDO-EUROPEAN

SUBHADRA KUMAR SEN  
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I present this paper *in absentia* with a mixed feeling of elation and disappointment. I feel elated as I have been asked to present a paper on the occasion of Professor Emeneau's birth centenary celebration and disappointed because certain personal problems prevented me from being with you at this moment. I am sorry. Professor Emeneau is an institution. His range of scholarship evokes awe, admiration and inspiration. I am as many present here are an admirer of him. I hope the paper presented will not be inappropriate for the scholar to whom we pay our respect.

Despite Shakespeare's observation 'What's in a name' and his assertion that a rose will remain as beautiful even if it is described by any name other than rose, names do play an important role in life as well as in Linguistics. *The Concise Oxford English Dictionary* glosses the word 'name' *inter alia* as 'the word by which an individual person, animal, place or thing is known or spoken of etc'. A name, then, is a distinctive feature; it is an identifier that differentiates, distinguishes or separates one member of the species from another member of the same species or one species of a genus from another species of the same genus. Thus a *vrksa* is differentiated from a *lata*, a tree in English from a creeper, a *Baum* in German from a *Kletterpflanze* and an *arbre* in French from a *plante grimpante*. Similarly an *Oak* is differentiated from *pine*, a *sala* tree from *tamāla* tree, a *Birke* from a *Kiefer* and a *chême* from a *pin*. In Linguistics, words are basically classified into two major classes, variable and invariable. Variable words are name words and action words. In Sanskrit grammar the situation is better represented by the technical terms *padam* and *nipāta*. A base that is a *prātipadika* or a *dhātu* which is capable of taking either *sup* (case termination) or *tin*

(personal markers as well as tense marker) is a *padam*. A *nipata* is incapable of having any additional element. Hence *nipātas* are indeclinable and *padas* are declinable. What then we call a noun is a name word and as such, these words differentiate, distinguish, classify. So naming is a *taxonomic* device. It helps us to classify, segregate various objects, beings and help us to understand the nature of these things better. Let me cite an example.

Those who learn Sanskrit by using Lanmann's Sanskrit Reader, the very first sentence they read is *āsīd rājā nalo nāma*. The basic meaning of this sentence one might ponder would have remained unchanged even if it were written *nalah rājā asīt*. The question is would it have remained unchanged. We may extend the survey by adding a few more examples and try to find out an answer. We may examine three English sentences: Alfred was a Saxon king, there was a Saxon king called Alfred and there was a Saxon King Alfred by name. We may arrange the examples thus.

1a. *Nalah rājā āsīt*

1b. *āsīd rāj ā nalo nāma*

2a. Alfred was a Saxon king

2b. There was a Saxon king called Alfred

2c. There was a Saxon king Alfred by name

In all these examples the verbs used *āsīt* and *was* are substantive verbs and thus equate the nouns Nala and Alfred with the respective complements, a noun in case of Sanskrit *rājā* and a string of modifiers and a noun in case of English - a Saxon king. But what is the role of *nāma* in 1b. and *called* in 2b. or *by name* in 2c. Even if one discards *Sprachgefühl* as something elusive, subjective and personal a feeling persists that the physical existence of the expressions *nāma by name* and *called* is not really insignificant and the expressions are not of zero semantic content. It may be argued that whereas 1a and 2a do not state any thing more about Nala and Alfred apart from the fact that they were kings, 1b, 2b and 2c add something



more. The question is what is that something more. The sentences imply a kind of difference, a distinctiveness, almost an evaluation, a judgment. While 1a and 2a are neutral in the sense of the term as used by Calvert Watkins following Hermann Gundert, in their meaning 1b, 2b and 2c are not. They are impregnated with a super meaning which *nāma*, by *name* or *called* infuses 1a and 2a in their neutrality mean Nala and Alfred were Kings and it does not imply anything more than that. But the surcharged meaning of 1b, 2b and 2c affirms Nala and Alfred were kings and there were other kings as well. In other words, Nala and Alfred were kings among kings.... such comparative estimation or assertion of supremacy is found later in a catch phrase used by Darius and subsequently borrowed by the Greeks. Darius, the Persian emperor in his inscriptions always uses the sobriquet *xsāyathiya xšāthiyānām* 'the king of kings' and interestingly *nāma* < \**nomn* is never found in these inscriptions. This catch phrase is later borrowed by the Greeks through the translation loan *basileus basileōnand* the old Persian phrase became modern Persian *šahan šah* (modern Bengali *šahan ša*) from Pehlavi *šah šahan*. (Here the change in the ordering of the words from nominative sequence is to be noted). A Darius inscription reads like *adam darayavausa xsayathiya xsāyathiyānama xšayathiya, parsaiy, xsayathiya daliyunām*; I Darius king of kings, king in Persia, king of the aborigines. Now had he composed the sentence with *nāma* as \**adam Darayavanus nāma xšayathiya* then the next *xšāyathiyānām* would have been redundant. Exclusion of *nāma* necessitated the introduction of the genitive after the nominative to make it clear that he (Darius) was the king among the kings ruling other lands at that time, i.e., he was some king indeed!

That the psychological motive behind the art of naming is to set up a device for identification can also be otherwise demonstrated. In the case of property both movable and immovable and both - non-human animates and inanimates, the distinct mark of possession could be affixed. Such insignia, emblems and seals are identifiers of the possessor. This system from its origin to its logical conclusion is clearly revealed by the Old Norse runes which later developed into a writing system. We also know from archaeological evidence that the marauding Vikings who plundered other peoples' home had their insignia in the shape of runes curved on their ornaments. This throws new light on Homer's detailed description of the engravings on the shields of the Greek heroes

To sum up: art of naming is a way of distinguishing between objects, persons etc.

Here I will crave your indulgence for a moment's digression. Although the word for name is available in all the historical Indo European languages e.g. Sanskrit *nāman*, Greek *onomen*, Latin *nōmen*, Armenian *anun*, Old Irish *ainmm*, Gothic *namō*, Old English *nāma*, Tocharian *ñem*, Hittite *laman* etc., it is extremely difficult to reduce all these forms into a single proto form. The most recalcitrant form *laman* is most easily amenable to explanation. The initial *n* by distant dissimilation becomes *l*, i.e. /n....m/ > /l....m/. Similar dissimilation in proximity is found in Sanskrit and Greek reduplicated forms, e.g. Sanskrit *da-dhā* <  $\sqrt{dhā}$ , *ba-bhū* <  $\sqrt{bhū}$ , *bi-bhar-* <  $\sqrt{bhr}$ , Greek *ti-thē-* <  $\sqrt{thē}$  (PIE  $\sqrt{dhē}$ ) or *penth* < *phenth* < PIE  $\sqrt{bhendh}$  etc. The opposite process of distant assimilation is found in Latin and Gothic independently as in Latin *unique* and Gothic *fimf* OE *fif* 'five' < *penkwe*. In Latin, it is progressive whereas in Gothic it is regressive assimilation. But the rest present a great difficulty in bringing them to one single proto-form. Hence, Pokorny suggests the following option for the Ursprache  $\sqrt{en(o)men}$   $\sqrt{(\partial)nomen}$ ,  $\sqrt{nomn}$ . The laryngealists offer a much more complex solution. Mayrhofer suggesting an improvement over Benveniste writes the form as  $\sqrt{\partial ne\partial m(e)n}$ , where ( $\partial = \text{H}_\lambda$  a laryngeal) initially generating a prothetic vowel in Greek and Armenian disappear in other languages without any consequent reflex. Medial laryngeal ( $\partial$ ) had both vowel colouring and vowel lengthening effect. Since the actual number and the behavior pattern of the laryngeals is still undefined we leave this etymology out of consideration. Pokorny's  $\sqrt{enom(e)n}$  can, however, be connected with the pronominal base  $\sqrt{eno}$  'that' which would account for the function - as a mark of identity or identifier in the language. But this is a mere speculation and hence may be kept out of consideration for the time being, albeit it is not essentially fortuitous.

We may now analyze some of the attested names and see to what extent these names serve as a distinguishing mark either for an individual or for a group. It must be born in mind that the names as distinctive markers were connotative at an early date. However, with the passage of time and extensive or repeated use the words gradually lost its specialized meaning and became non-connotative. Old-Persian personal name *Kuru-* occurs in



Sanskrit *Kuru* and is borrowed from Old-Persian in Greek *kuros*. The etymology of the word can be understood from Sanskrit source. The name occurs in the epic, the Mahabharata. In the epic, *Kuru* and *Pāndu* are two lines of royal descent. The meaning of the word *Kuru* can be deduced from the meaning of the word *Pāndu*. *Pāndu* means pale > weak > frail > impotent and by contrast *Kuru* may be taken as dark > strong > virile. This can be seen in the conjugal life of *Pāndu* and *Dhṛtarāstra*. However, an additional linguistic support is found in the Greek word *Kelarios* 'black'. The word belongs to *u*- derivative adjectives (like *guru*) < \**kru*-.

Alfred, name of the Saxon King < OE. *Alfred* which is made up of *aelf* *elf* + *rād* 'counsel', lit. elfish intelligence; counsel, advice i.e. extremely elusive > crafty, wily person. A student of Anglo-Saxon history knows that King Alfred was an extremely intelligent man.

*Rāma* 'the epic hero', a deverbative noun < \**rem* 'be quite' cf. Sanskrit *ramate* and Avesta *rāman*.

*Menelaos*, the 'Greek epic hero', a compound of *men-e*-(< \**men* to be angry < *geistig erregt sein*) + *laos* 'people'. The compound would mean 'Excited men' > 'abiding men' cf. Sanskrit *abhimanyu* < \**m̐bhi-men-yu*-.

*Sahadeva*, the epic character = *Saha* (< \**Sm̐gh-o* 'together') + *deva* (< \**deiwo*- 'divinity'), the literal meaning of the name is 'one who is always with the great people' > an attendant. An exact correspondent of PIE \**Sm̐gho-deiwo*s survives in Old Germanic *Sigtyr* by Grimm's law, Germanic *umlaut* and law of the permitted final.

*Rāvana*, 'the epic villain' < \**r̥ew-on-o* a bellowing person or animal < \**r̥ew* 'to roar', bellow. Compare Sanskrit mythical name *Purūravas*.

*Beowulf*, the Anglo-Saxon epic hero, Beo'dazzling (?) + *wulf* 'wolf'. < \**bhei-o-wikw wlk<sup>w</sup>*os. One can compare *vr̥kodara*, another name of Bhima, an over eater. Compare further Hindu mythological *narasiṃha* *nrsimha* 'a man lion'.

*Manu*, mythological progenitor of the Germanic tribes < \**mon-u-* by assimilation of *-nu-* > *nn-* cf. Sanskrit *manu*, *manu-sya-*, *mānava-* < \**men* 'think' cf. European Surname Mann as in Thomas Mann, the noted German Writer.

Darius, Latinised version of Old Persian *dārayavaus* < \**dhēreyo* holding / holder < √*dher-* 'to hold' + \**wesu-* 'riches' cf. Wisi-Goths i.e. rich Goths. cf. also Sanskrit *Vasundharā* < *wesum-dherō* 'holder of riches'.

Alexander, the Greek emperor < *alex-andros* 'protector of men'.

Zarathustra, Iranian religious preacher literally meaning 'old / golden / tawny Camel' < \**ġeront* + /*ġelto-* + \**us-tro-* < \**wes-* 'bedeck', cf. Sanskrit *jaradgava* 'old cow' and *jairatkāru* 'an infirm artisan' > name of a sage. cf. Sanskrit *Rohitāśva* Old Persian *Vistapa*.

*Wulfila* 'a small wolf' < *wulf* \**IE wlko-* + diminutive *-ila* < *PIE-elo-* cf. *Attila*, the Hun leader and Luigi Pirandello, the Italian dramatist.

Vedic Aditi 'limitless' < *PIE\*n-\***diti* and Old Persian *Anāhita* 'unblemished' < *an-ahitā*.

Modern German Ludwig < Gmc \**Xluta-* + \**wega* < \**PIE kluto-weghi* cf. Sanskrit *śruta-vaha*, *śruta-kirti*.

Friends and colleagues, this is a vast subject. I have only tried an initial survey. Hopefully a complete Glossary of Proto-Indo-European personal names will be taken up and completed in the near future.



## DEVERBAL NOMINAL DERIVATION IN TAMIL

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### Abstract

*This article examines one kind of verbal noun formation in missionary grammars as being formed from verbal roots that mimic the morphology of past, present and future tense markers. These three types seem to show a scale of 'verbiness' to 'nouniness' or 'concreteness' to 'abstractness' that, if productive in the language, would be a very useful way to create verbal nouns. The evidence indicates, however, that some of these formations, though hypothetically possible, are not completely productive; the language seems to prefer other ways to make verbal nouns, in some cases using 'borrowed' morphology.*

Deverbal nominal derivation in Tamil is described in missionary grammars as a way of forming "verbal nouns" from verb roots (Arden 1942:219-27). Such analyses lead one to believe that the various processes described are productive and predictable in the language. This study will attempt to show that the ways Tamil has of forming nouns from verbs are theoretically productive, and exhibit a certain amount of regularity, but in actuality are less regular and less predictable than they are in theory, since they form part of the morphology of Tamil that is *derivational*. As most linguists recognize, derivational morphology, that part of grammar that provides ways to change one 'part of speech into another, seems universally to be inherently unpredictable and unproductive.

### Review of Literature

The most complete statement we have about the formation of deverbal nouns is in Arden (1942). On the subject of the fixity or gradience of morphological categories, Ross (1972) introduces the notion of degrees of 'nouniness' and 'verbiness' while Anderson (1974) refers to the gradience of

these categories as 'fuzzy'. Steriade (1997) raises a number of issues about noun formation in a number of languages, but does not address the issue of deverbal nominalizations. Heyvért deals with the issue of deverbal nominalization in English, emphasizing a functional approach. Rajendran (2001) considers two types of processes - one set that is less productive and the second set that deals more with the kind of morphology we are dealing with here. He notes that "nominalization by the second set of suffixes is productive and the nominals derived by these suffixes are rich resources from which derivative nouns can be obtained by the process of semantic lexicalization. It has been noted also that there are suffixes among the first set which are productive if we can condition them by conjugation class, and / or phonological environments and / or syllabic patterns." I will argue however, that though the 'second set' is theoretically productive, they are not in practice as productive as they seem, or as Arden and others describe them.

This study will attempt to show that for Tamil, the derivational processes in question are based morphologically on roots that resemble various tense markers of the verb, and exhibit a scale of 'noun-iness', i.e. the scale of past-present-infinitive-future bases correlate with a scale of less 'noun-iness' (and more 'verb-iness') to more 'noun-iness' (and less 'verb-iness'). 'Noun-iness' and 'verb-iness' are defined<sup>1</sup> according to whether a constituent is constrained by the rules of nominal or verbal syntax, respectively. Nounier verbal nouns are semantically more abstract; verbier verbal nouns are semantically less abstract and can exhibit more of the morphology of verbs, such as being marked with tense morphemes. The most verby (and least nouny) of these derivational processes are shown to be the most productive and regular, with the scale of productivity and regularity declining as they become more nouny in morphology and syntax.

Arden (1942: 219) states that there are five kinds of verbal nouns; within each of the first four, there are subsets dependent on whether the verb from which they are derived is weak or strong.<sup>2</sup>

1. Ross, in his 1972 paper, introduced the notion that the categories of 'parts of speech' are not as clearly defined as some have claimed, and suggested that lexical items can be arranged in a kind of continuum from 'nounier' to 'less nounier', etc. He also referred to this phenomenon as 'squishy' but this term is now less favoured. But see also Anderson (1974), who uses the term 'fuzzy data'.

2. Actually, Arden states that the conditioning factor is whether the verb takes *-kkir-* or *-kir-* as a present tense marker, which is the criterion for the establishment of 'weak' and 'strong' verbs.



Before proceeding, it is necessary to note that before discussing verbal nouns, Arden made a distinction between verbal nouns and what he calls 'participial nouns' (p. 224 ff.) which are pronominalized deverbal adjectives. That is, adjectival participles (marked for any of the three tenses) may be prefixed to pronouns; when the pronoun has an animate antecedent, the meaning is 'he who (verbs)', e.g. *ceykiravan* 'one who does'. When the pronoun is neuter, e.g. *ceykiratu*, the meaning can range from 'that which does (something)' to 'the act of doing (something)' to 'the fact of doing (something)'. These neuter participial nouns may be the subjects or objects of sentences, may be marked for various cases, and as noted, for all tenses. Arden notes that they "are frequently used as Verbal Nouns expressing the action of the Verb as in present, past or future time." (Arden 1942: 219). Later, he includes these participial nouns as a fifth kind of verbal noun, since they may be used as Verbal Nouns. But it is clear that they are morphologically quite different from the other found kinds, and are more clearly verbal than the others. I would also note that this type is perhaps more common in the spoken language than in the Literary language; certainly, it has broader functions in spoken than in Literary, although it does not replace the other four kinds of Verbal Nouns, especially those that are 'nounier'.

Arden does not state that the four kinds of verbal noun formation show a strong phonological resemblance to the tense markers of canonically weak and strong verbs; the first kind he describes, i.e. verbal nouns in *-tal-* and *-ttal-* (or *-kkutal*), looks like they may be formed on the past tense stem of Verb classes I and VI<sup>3</sup>. The second type, verbal nouns in *-kai* and *-kkai*, resemble of course the weak and strong present-tense markers mentioned previously; actually, they resemble even more closely the *infinitives* of certain weak and strong verbs, e.g. *pooka* 'to go' (verbal noun *pookai*) and *keetka* 'to ask' (verbal noun *keetkai*).

Arden does state that the third kind of verbal noun formation, those in *-al*, is formed by attaching this morpheme to the infinitive. He also notes that this form is usually used only with (the modal auxiliary) *aam*, the equivalent of English 'may, might', e.g. *irukkal-aam* 'someone may be', *varal-aam* 's.o. may come'. In the modern language, one would have a difficult

3. These classes are those referred to by Arden and others as 'Dr. Graul's classification'.

time demonstrating that there is an independent morpheme *-al* in such forms; since verbal nouns such as *irukal* now rarely occur except with *aam* attached, I analyze these as being the infinitive *irukka* plus a modal with the form *-laam*. The morpheme boundary may be historically justified, but on the synchronic grounds cannot be upheld.

The fourth type of verbal noun, those in *-ppu* and *-vu*, closely resemble the FUTURE formatives of strong and weak verbs, e.g. *patippeen* 'I will study' (verbal noun *patippu* 'studies, education') and *varuvēn* 'I will come' (verbal noun *varavu* 'arrival, income, advent').<sup>4</sup> There are a number of other ways to form verbal nouns in Tamil, but for reasons that can be guessed at, Arden did not choose to discuss them.<sup>5</sup> Arden probably chose to describe these four kinds of verbal nouns, and not others, because they seem to be quite regular and productive in the language, and because their morphology is easy to describe (i.e., can be shown to be closely related to the formation of weak and strong present tense markers.).

In theory, of course, these four types are quite regular, and one could easily generate a complete set of these nouns from all the verbs in the lexicon, and native speakers of Tamil would accept them all (which would not be the case if one were to randomly generate verbal nouns based on the morphemes given in endnote 3.) The problem with the theoretical productivity of these four types is that there is a scale of abstractness of the nouns so generated, and as the more abstract end of the scale is reached (that being those of the fourth type, with labial consonants), there is a tendency for these to have a life of their own, and a semantic field of their own that may be somewhat independent of the meaning of the original verb.

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4. But note that the weak form is not as close to the future formation as the strong form is, because it is **varavu** rather than **varuvu**, making it look like it is either formed on the infinitive, or must be analysed as stem plus **-avu**.
5. A short list might include **-ccal**, as in **kaayccal** 'fever' from **kaay** 'be dry, burn'; **cci** as in **valarcci** 'growth' from **valar** 'grow'; **-ttu** (or **-ccu**), as in **eluttu** 'letter, character' from **elutu** 'write' and **peeccu** 'speech' from **peecu** 'speak'; **-ttai**, as in **natattai** 'conduct' from **nata** 'walk, run', and **-ti**, as in **amaiti** 'calmness, peace' from **amai** 'become settled, quiet, or ceyti 'deed' from **cey** 'do'. There is also the regular formation of deverbal nouns from class III verbs such as **tuunku** 'sleep' which involves replacing the velar nasal by another homorganic stop, e.g. **tuukkam** 'sleep', **vananku** 'be submissive, be obeisant', **vanakkam** 'submission, obeisance' (now used as a form of greeting replacing **namaskaram**, etc).



This question of how to deal with nominalizations has of course been one that has concerned transformational grammarians to a certain extent, and one that raised one of the serious challenges to Chomsky's theories by dissident students of his, such as Ross, Lakoff and McCawley. The controversy became known as the 'Lexicalists versus the Transformationalists' and had to do with the question of whether nominalizations could all be generated by transformational rules, or whether some (or all) nominalizations were already lexicalised and had to therefore be listed in the lexicon (or dictionary) of the language. The question was also one of how abstract a grammar could be; Chomsky held to a lesser degree of abstraction, while his opponents, known curiously as the 'transformationalists', argued for a more abstract grammar, with many things derived by transformation rather than given independent status in the lexicon. The controversy ranged quite widely over other areas of grammar, and each found strong evidence for their own position in one or more areas of syntax, but usually neglected to admit that in other areas, their arguments were weaker. Partisans of each viewpoint claimed victory for their theory in the areas that strengthened their arguments, ignoring those areas where their evidence was weak. Nominalization was a topic in which the lexicalists had the stronger defences, and although I personally was originally in the other camp (i.e. among the Transformationalists, also known eventually as generative semantics), one cannot fail to see that the Tamil evidence also gives credence to the arguments of the lexicalists.

There is clearly a scale of abstractness (or 'verbiness' to 'nouniness') in this area of deverbal noun formation, and as Arden points out, the type near the 'verby' end of the scale does act more like verbs: Type (a) may, like verbs, have both a subject and an object; type (b) is most often used to express time, i.e. 'in the time of (verb)-ing', and may be marked for locative (for time) or instrumental (to express cause or reason). This type may have a subject but the 'strong' ones (in *-kkai*) (which are usually from transitive verbs), do not (says Arden) and 'are treated as pure nouns.' (Arden 1942: 222). Type (c) is closer to the verbal end of the scale in that it usually has a subject, especially when used with *-laam* (or, if you prefer, *-aam*), as in *nii uurukkup pookalaam* 'you may go to town'. Arden states that this type is sometimes used as a pure noun, but does not give examples. In fact, this is rare. This may be a case of a type that has lost some of its nouniness, and is

retreating towards the verbal end of the continuum as the *-laam* morpheme is becoming grammaticalized as a modal verb, as I claim.

A gap in the abstraction scale seems to exist between the above three and the last type, type (d), which are formed with labial consonants and closely resembles the future formatives of strong and weak verbs. As Arder states, "these nouns are only names for the action; they have no verbal force, they cannot govern other words, they are pure nouns."

The fact that members of this type have become lexicalised as nouns is demonstrated by the following observations:

- These nouns tend to function only as subjects of sentences; if marked for case, their meaning is less abstract than if not so marked. They begin life in the sentence as nouns rather than undergoing some transformation from a verbal element.
- Many of these nouns have verbal roots that are less frequent than the derived noun; in spoken Tamil, many of the nouns are frequent while the verbs are not used at all in spoken. In Literary Tamil, for example, *cel* 'go' is a verb that is often used in a rarefied or pundit style, and the nominalization *celavu* means 'outgo' or 'expense'. *selavu* is also used in spoken Tamil with this meaning, but *cel* as a verb is not. Therefore, one would be hard-pressed to try to derive *selavu* from the verb *cel* by a transformation, since the latter is simply unknown.
- Certain type (d) formatives, while relatable to existing verbs, show some mysterious deviance from what one would expect if the process of deriving them were totally irregular. The verb *paar* 'see', is a strong verb of the class VI, and a (d)-type nominalization ought to give us *\*paarppu* to mean something like 'sight' or 'view'. Instead, we get *paarvai* ('sight, view, vista'), which looks like it should be derived from a weak verb. Many verbs in Tamil have weak and strong correlates, but *paar* does not. Does this mean that historically there was once a weak verb *paar*, from which the form *paarvai* is derived? The dictionaries list no such form, but the question remains valid.



The problems with the regularity hypothesis increase as we reach the more abstract level of nominalizations, i.e. as nouns become lexicalised. A glance in any dictionary reveals that for any verb in the language, a number of possible forms may be listed (or perhaps none are given, meaning nothing has become lexicalised), but the semantic range of the given forms is often not what one would expect. When a word like *varavu* can have a range of meanings such as 'income', 'advent' and 'arrival', but in actual use means only 'income', then some other form has to be found to express the meanings of 'advent' and 'arrival'.

This is of course a dilemma that faces many languages, and the solution is to utilize some other process or device. In Tamil, one can resort to the fifth type (type e), the very productive participial noun formation that also functions as a verbal noun. But there is also some life in the fifth (mixed bag) type, those that are supposedly not very productive or regular, as evidenced in two different attempts to nominalize the verb *kaṇi* 'calculate, compute', to derive a word for 'computer'. One of these attempts arrived at *kanini* (this was the version derived in Tamil Nadu), and the other attempt, in Malaysia, produced *kaṇippori*. This last is a compound of *kaṇi* plus *pori* 'machine', while the former is *kaṇi* plus *ni*, a formative that is not widely used (and is rather difficult to define). It (the derivation in *ni*) is the one gaining the most currency while a derivation based on the type 4 / d *kaṇippu* is what is used as the basis of other computer terminology, e.g. 'computer science' is *kaṇippiyal*, *kaṇippu* 'computation' plus *iyal* 'science'. Tamil is still groping with ways to standardize this kind of process of lexicalization that will permit the most logical derivation of a number of terms, not just one. Obviously, *kanini* works well for 'computer' but not for 'computer science' since *iyal* grafted on to *kanini* would give \**ka3i2iyiyal* \**kaniniyiyal*, which is too many [i] vowels for most mouths. Obviously derivational processes have to yield agreeable forms or they will not be accepted. This is perhaps one explanation for why the regularity of this particular derivational process cannot be relied on to help us predict the outcome of new forms, and is another reason why derivational processes are so irregular.

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## A BRIEF HISTORICAL STUDY OF SRI RAMANUJAR\*

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Chennai

### Abstract

*The first lecture is devoted to a historical study of the biography of Ramanujar with emphasis on the main traits of his character. This is essential for a clear understanding of some important problems connected with his career. This account is based on the data furnished by Vaishnava traditions like Guruparamparais, Divyasuricharitam, etc.*

*The second lecture is an analysis of his migration to the Kannada country, whether it was voluntary or caused by the persecution of the contemporary rulers. The Kirumikanda Chola affair is scrutinized and the probable cause of Ramanujar's migration is suggested. Lastly, the date of Ramanujar is considered.*

Born at Sriperumbudur, Sri Ramanujar, son of Kesava Somayaji and Kantimati, was famous also by different names such as Elaiyalvar, Ethirajar, Udaiyavar and Emperumanar. Alavandar was his great-grandfather. His maternal uncle, Periya Tirumalai Nambi, was a grandson of Alavandar, who was also called Yamunacharya. Ramanujar received his early education from his father who was sufficiently proficient in Sanskrit and Vedic literature. For learning, *Vēdānta*, he became a disciple of Yadavaprakasar, an Advaita teacher of Tiruputkuli. Ramanujar was an earnest, diligent and bold disciple. Though he respected and sincerely served his master, he did not hesitate to refute his master's interpretation of the *Vēdās* in favour of Advaita doctrines as well as his unfair and inadvertent meaning of certain Vedic expressions. Naturally, Yadavaprakasar was annoyed and asked Ramanujar not to attend his teaching, but Ramanujar remained unperturbed.

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\* Sankara-Parvathi Endowment Lectures delivered at the University of Madras (August 2002).

There is a story which speaks of the greatness of Ramanujar. Yadavaprakasara, his teacher, made an unsuccessful attempt to kill Ramanujar during the pilgrimage to Benares. There is yet another story that while Yadavaprakasara failed, Ramanujar succeeded in curing the daughter of the ruler of Kanchi who was possessed by a demon. After some time, Yadavaprakasara recognized Ramanujar's greatness and became his disciple with the name of Govinda Jiyar. Seldom we have come across such instance of a teacher becoming the disciple of his own student. There is a similar instance in the history of Saivism, teacher accepting his disciple as his *Guru*. Arulnandi Sivachariyar was the preceptor of Meykandar, the founder of Saiva Siddhanta. When Meykandar authored *Śivagnanabōdham*, Arulnandi understood the greatness of his disciple, and did not hesitate to accept him as his master. Thus, the progress that Ramanujar made in Vedantic studies was so astounding as to make his teacher realize his greatness.

Ramanujar married Thanjamambal at an early age. His conjugal life did not turn out to be a happy one. His wife was extremely orthodox and she did not share the religious and social convictions of her husband.

After leaving Yadavaprakasara, Ramanujar wanted to become a disciple of Tirukkachi Nambi, a disciple of Alavandar, serving in the Varadarajaperumal temple at Kanchi. Tirukkachi Nambi, a *Vaisya* by birth, did not yield to Ramanujar's desire although he had great affection and regard for Ramanujar. The reason for his refusal was that Ramanujar's request went against the *varṇaśrama dharma* widely practised in those days. Therefore, Tirukkachi Nambi advised Ramanujar to approach Periya Nambi, a disciple of Alavandar at Srirangam.

Ramanujar left Kanchi for Srirangam. Luckily, on the way, he met Periya Nambi and his wife at Madurantakam, and received the *Pañcha Samskāras* from that *Āchārya*. Subsequently, he brought them to Kanchi, accommodated them in his house and began receiving instructions from that *Āchārya*. Periya Nambi taught him not only Vaishnava mantras but also *Divyaprabandham*. Unfortunately, the arrangement was short-lived. Thanjamambal, who was more orthodox than the wife of Periya Nambi, picked up a quarrel with her over a trivial matter. As the result, the couple left.



Kanchi suddenly without informing Ramanujar. When Ramanujar came to know of this development, he was very much pained and disappointed. He was terribly angry with his wife for her behaviour. He treated her action as *bhāgavata abachāram*. On a previous occasion also when he invited Tirukkachi Nambi for lunch at his residence, Thanjamambal treated that *Āchārya* without due respect. He felt that he could not pursue his spiritual career with that kind of life partner. He awaited an opportunity to part with her. When Thanjamambal went to her mother's house to attend her sister's marriage, Ramanujar abandoned his home, became an ascetic and began to live in a mutt. It was after this renunciation that he came to be called *Ethirājar*, meaning prince among ascetics.

When Alavandar passed away at Srirangam, the question of his successor to the pontifical seat engaged the attention of his disciples. The Vaishnava establishment at Srirangam required a suitable person for its management. After careful consideration and deliberations, they decided to invite Ramanujar, and sent Periya Nambi to Kanchi to persuade Ramanujar to shoulder that great episcopal responsibility. Ramanujar received the blessings of Tirukkachi Nambi and left for Srirangam. When he became head of the Srirangam Mutt to look after the affairs of the temple, he earned the title of *Udaiyavar*.

Soon after assuming the headship of the Srirangam Mutt, Periya Nambi advised Ramanujar to get further spiritual instructions from Tirukkottiyur Nambi, another disciple of Alavandar. Accordingly, Ramanujar met that *Āchārya* and expressed his desire to become his disciple. Despite his hesitation, the *Āchārya* agreed to take Ramanujar as his disciple on the condition that he should not divulge his teaching except to his chief disciples. Tirukkottiyur Nambi taught him the *Ashṛāṭchara mantra*, the most sacred *mantra* of Vaishnavism, indicating the path to salvation. Contrary to the promise to his *Āchārya*, he gathered as many Vaishnavas as possible without the barrier of caste, and proclaimed the sacred *mantra*, standing on the tower of the Tirukkottiyur temple. The irritated *Āchārya* sent for Ramanujar and called for an explanation for his action. Undaunted, Ramanujar pacified him saying that his action, though violative of the condition, was meant to help the salvation many a person. The *Āchārya* was deeply impressed by the altruism of Ramanujar and so named him

Emberumanar. Thereafter, Ramanujar was hailed as Emberumanar. Nonetheless, Ramanujar received further spiritual instructions from the same *Āchārya*.

Ramanujar was untired of learning the tenets of Vaishnavism by meeting preceptors after preceptors. One such teacher was Tirumalaian-dan, another disciple of Alavandar, who taught the *Divyaprabandham* to Ramanujar. In spite of his great respect for his *Āchārya*, Ramanujar disagreed with him in the interpretation of some of the *paśurams* of Alvars. When Tirukkottiyur Nambi came to know of this, he did not hesitate to uphold the viewpoints of Ramanujar. The other notable preceptors of Ramanujar were Tirumalai Nambi, Ramanujar's maternal uncle, and Tiruvaranga Perumal Araiyaar, son of Alavandar. Ramanujar longed for learning from all preceptors for whom he had true reverence, but he had his own firm convictions and did not hesitate to disagree with them provided there was enough justification. He neither claimed any omniscience of Vaishnavite philosophy nor did he behave like a prophet.

However, Ramanujar stands to be ranked with the religious teachers like the Buddha. He was indeed a great teacher of teachers. He had many distinguished disciples. Some of them like Kurathalvan, Mudaliandan, Tiruvarangattu Amudanar, Arulalaperumal, Yadavaprakasara and Tirukkurugaipiran were highly learned. Kurathalvan's devotion to Ramanujar was similar to that of Maduraikavi Alvar's to Nammalvar. In fact, Kurathalvan assisted his master in writing down the celebrated *Śrī Bāshyam*. He was known to have composed some prayer hymns. It is of great interest that Tiruvarangattu Amudanar was for a long time a follower of Saivism, but he was converted to Vaishnavism by Ramanujar. He composed the *Rāmānuja Nurranthāthi* in honour of his *Guru*. Arulapperumal, an Advaiti converted to Vaishnavism, wrote *Gnānasāram* and *Premēyasāram*. Tirukkurugaipiran, another disciple, wrote a commentary on Nammalvar's *Tiruvāymoli* as desired by his *Guru*. It is called *Ārāyirappadi*. As a teacher, Ramanujar inspired his disciples and achieved much through them towards the cause of Vaishnavism. His *Śrī Bāshyam* is a commentary on the *Brahma Sūtras*. His commentary on the *Bhagavad Gīta*, his *Vēdānta Dīpam*, *Vēdānta Śāram*, *Vēdānta Śaṅgaraham*, *Saranāgathi Gathyam*, *Śrīraṅga Gathyam*, *Śrī Vaikuṇṭha Gathyam* and *Nitya Grantham* were remarkable contributions to



Vaishnavite philosophy. They speak of his fervent devotion to his faith as well as his deep erudition.

The Hindu society in the days of Ramanujar was deeply conservative and *Varnāśrama dharma* was widely practised. Preservation of the traditional social order was the responsibility of the State.

Ramanujar did not openly preach against *Varnāśrama dharma*. He ignored caste system in everyday life. He did not care for the caste distinctions of his followers. He did believe that all were children of God and moved freely with people of all castes. He condemned *mukkurmbu* that is pride born out of birth, wealth and learning. His reverence for Tirukkachi Nambi, a Vaisya by birth, was truly great. He did not hesitate to prostrate before that *Āchārya*. He even longed for taking the leftover food of that *Āchārya*. He never hesitated to feed any low-caste person in his residence. One of his disciples, viz. Maraneri Nambi, was an untouchable. Still, Ramanujar offered him food and shelter and took good care of him when he was ill. It is gratifying to note that Ramanujar directed his Brahmin disciple, Periya Nambi, to perform all the funeral rites befitting a true *Bhāgavatha* after the death of Maraneri Nambi. It was something unprecedented and outrageous to the orthodox people. Similarly, after taking his bath, Ramanujar used to hold the hand of Pillai Urangavilli, a low-caste disciple. Ramanujar administered the *Pañcha Samskāras* to all, irrespective of caste and sex. His wife, Thanjamambal, ridiculed him for his unorthodox behaviour and, as already stated, it was one of the main reasons for his renunciation of family life. According to Vaishnava traditions, unsuccessful attempts were made on Ramanujar's life by the orthodox group at Srirangam.

The philosophy of *Visishtadvaita* was not enunciated by Ramanujar, but he was its chief exponent. The *Vēdas* contain ideas which are common both to Advaita and Dvaita philosophies. Ramanujar rejected the Advaita view of Brahman (God) as an attributeless (*Niguna*) as well as the doctrine of Maya. He maintained that the material world and human beings, though different, have a real existence of their own as the body of Brahman (God) who is their soul and controlling power. Apart from Brahman, they are non-entities. So, his philosophy is known as *Visishtadvaita*, i.e. Advaita non-

dualism with (*Viśeṣha*) qualifications; God is related to the cosmos as the soul is to the body. He maintained that God is the controller of the universe and the redeemer of all beings (*Śarguṇa Brahman*). While Sankara expounded *Gnānamārga*, Ramanujar preached *Bhakthimārga* and total surrender to God for salvation. He did not believe in *Jīvan Mukthi*. Ramanujar combined his religion and philosophy identifying Brahman with Vishnu. The *Nityasūris*, those who attained *Paramapadam*, are with Vishnu but not one with Vishnu. It is true that the Alvars and Nathamuni and his successors held similar views, but they did not systemise their views so much and propagate so well as Ramanujar did. Herein, lies the greatness of Ramanujar. His teachings profoundly influenced the growth of Vaishnavism of the purest type in South India.

With regard to the migration of Ramanujar from Srirangam to the Kannada country, let us first examine in brief the version of the Vaishnava traditions like *Guruparampara Prabhāvams* and *Divyasūri Charitam*. Kirumikanda Chola, who threw the *Mūlavigraha* of Govindaraja of the Chitrakuta temple into the sea and damaged many Vaishnava temples, bribed and bullied learned Vaishnavas to make the statement that Lord Siva was the highest God. He sent an emissary to Ramanujar to get the statement endorsed by him in writing. On learning the news, Kuratalvan promptly planned to save Ramanujar from the predicament. Ramanujar was asked to disguise himself in white dress and leave the Chola country. In the meantime, Kuratalvan wore the ascetic dress of Ramanujar and proceeded to the Chola court accompanied by Periya Nambi and his daughter. When the Chola asked the two Vaishnavas to make the statement that Siva was the highest God, they refused, and Kuratalvan gave an impertinent reply. The angry Chola ordered his men to remove their eyes. Before anyone moved, Kuratalvan plucked out his eyes saying that he did not want to see the sinful ruler. Periya Nambi's eyes were removed by the royal servants. He died immediately. Meanwhile, Ramanujar reached the Hoysala kingdom with a few of his followers and began to spread Vaishnavism there. The Kannada king, Vitaladevarayan, had a daughter who was possessed. When the Jaina leaders failed to cure her, the king turned to Ramanujar who succeeded in getting her rid of it. So, the grateful king became a Vaishnava and helped Ramanujar in many ways. This was followed by the construction of a Vishnu temple at Tirunarayanapuram, now called Melkote.



Subsequently, Ramanujar installed in that temple the festival idol called Ramappriya. It was only after the death of Kirumikanda Chola that Ramanujar returned to Srirangam.

There is still a controversy about the identification of Kirumikanda Chola. Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, V.N. Hari Rao, T.N. Gopinatha Rao, P. Sri and Dr. N. Jagadeesan support the view that Kulottunga I<sup>1</sup> must be Kirumikanda Chola. T.V. Sadasiva Pandarathar rejects<sup>2</sup> their view for the following reasons: There is no evidence to say that Kulottunga I hated Vaishnavism or Ramanujar. He was famously known as Vishnuvardhana when he was the prince of Vengi. He had also adorned the title of Rajanarayanan when he was the Chola emperor. His *meykīrthi* states that, along with his queen, he was seated in his throne like Tirumal and his consort<sup>3</sup> (*tirumālakattup piriyaṭhenrum tirumagḷirunthena vīrasimmāsanattu vīrriruntaruḷina*). One of his sons called Pillaiyar Vishnuvardhana made a gift of land to the Vishnu temple at Tiruvayindapuram. The Vishnu temple at Mannarkudi (Thanjavur district) was built by and named after Kulottunga I<sup>4</sup> (Kulottunga Cholavinnagar). A *Nishadarāya* vassal of Kulottunga I is known to have served as Adhikari in the Srirangam temple.<sup>5</sup> An inscription dated in the 15th year of Kulottunga I records a grant<sup>6</sup> of gold for the recitation of *Tinuppallieluchchi* and *Tiruvāymoli*. Another inscription dated in the 18th year of the same Chola records the provisions made for<sup>7</sup> offerings on the nights when the text *Tēttaruntiral* composed by Kulasekhara Alvar was recited. Kulottunga I's liberal policy towards other religions is brought to light from many evidences. Further, the Vaishṇava traditions establish that Kirumikanda Chola was none but Kulottunga II (1133-1150). It

1. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *History of Tirupati*, Vol. I, pp. 273-74; V.N. Hari Rao, *History of Trichinopoly and Srirangam Temple* (unpublished), p. 173; T.A. Gopinatha Rao, *History of Sri Vaishnavas*, p. 39; P. Sri, *Ramanujar* (Tamil), p. 329; N. Jagadeesan, *History of Sri Vashnavism in the Tamil Country (Post Ramanuja)*, pp. 287-88.

2. T.V. Sadasiva Pandarathar, *Pirkala Cholar Charitiram* (Tamil), pt. II, p. 111-12.

3. P. Subramaniam, *Meykirttigal* (Tamil), p. 100.

4. *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. VI, No. 57.

5. *Annual Report on Epigraphy*, 1938-39, No. 124; *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III, No. 70.

6. *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. IV, No. 508.

7. *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. IV, No. 70.

is proved beyond any doubt by other corroborative evidences that Kirumikanda Chola cannot be identified with Kulottunga I. T.A. Gopinatha Rao's view that "the hatred of the king was personal and not sectarian"<sup>8</sup> is untenable as there is no evidence to say that Ramanujar offended the king in any way.

There is sufficient evidence to prove that Kulottunga II, grandson of Kulottunga I, removed the *Mūlavigraha* of Govindaraja and threw it into the sea. His own teacher, Ottakkuthar, makes mention about it in his *Ulā* and *Thakkayāgaparaṇi*. The king attempted to enlarge the *Śabha* of Lord Nataraja, his family deity. The local Vaishnavas were opposed to it and so, in anger, the king removed the *Mūlavigraha*. It was only an emotional aberration. He was no hater of Vaishnavism. No other idol of Vishnu was subjected to such a fate anywhere in the Chola empire as that of Chidambaram. Even the festival idol of Govindaraja was safe and is said to have been kept for some time at Tirupati, according to the *Guruparamparai Prabhāvam*. No Vishnu temple was demolished. Worship and festivals in the Vaishnava temples of Srirangam, Kanchi and Tirupati went on as usual without any disturbance.

The *Meykīrthi* of Kulottunga II speaks of his regard for Lord Vishnu. It states that he wore a bright crown like Nedumal (Vishnu).<sup>9</sup> The fact that he was well disposed towards Vaishnavas is well-established from an epigraph from Tirukkoyilur Vishnu temple. It states that on the request of Kulottunga Chola Chedirayan,<sup>10</sup> the emperor granted some lands for *pūja* and for feeding *Śri Vaishṇavas* in the local Vishnu temple. Other vassals of the emperor extended their benefactions to Vishnu temples in their areas. A Telugu Chola vassal of Kulottunga II built a Vishnu temple at Nandalur<sup>11</sup> in the Cuddapah district and named it Sri Kulottungachola Vinnagar.

Ghattideva Yadavaraya, a vassal of Vikrama Chola as well as Kulottunga II Chola, is mentioned in two inscriptions of Tirupati. They furnish an

8. T.A. Gopinatha Rao, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

9. P. Subramaniam, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

10. *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. VII, No. 136; *Annual Report on Epigraphy*, 1900, No. 124.

11. *Annual Report on Epigraphy*, 1907, No. 572.



interesting information that he "assisted Ramanujar in various matters relating to the hill-shrine of Tirupati even to refute the claim of the temple by the Saivas, and the arrangements that he made subsequently. It was he who rendered help to Ramanujar to build the shrine of Govindaraja in lower Tirupati and laid out the *agrahara*, viz. Ramanujapuram, around it in honour of Ramanujar. He built in the historic town of Tirupati a *mandapa* called Tiruchitrakuta mandapam which is also called Tillaikkuvaittan mandapam. He further renovated the second tower of the Tirupati Govindaraja temple called the Yadava Narayana Tirugopuram. He erected a *mandapa* known as Yamunaitturai at the behest of Anantalvan to be used by the garland makers".<sup>12</sup>

The *Rāmānuja Nūrrandāthi* written by Tiruvarangattu Amudanar who figures as donee in an inscription from Tirukkoyilur dated A.D. 1181<sup>13</sup> is absolutely silent about the ill-treatment of Ramanujar by the Chola emperor. As the author was a disciple of Ramanujar and lived for a long time, he ought to have mentioned this fact if Ramanujar was persecuted. All these show that neither Kulottunga I nor Kulottunga II was the persecutor of Ramanujar. The fact that the Chola emperor demanded from Ramanujar a statement in writing that Siva was the highest God is lacking in credibility. Supposing, for argument's sake, that such a demand was made by the emperor, Ramanujar would have certainly rejected it. It is difficult to believe that Ramanujar known for moral courage, ran away from Srirangam fearing the persecution of Chola emperor. He was bold enough to face any threat or danger, and he was the last person to allow his own followers such as Kurat Alvan and Periya Nambi to suffer on his behalf. It is also unbelievable that he discarded his ascetic dress and disguised himself in the white dress of Kurat Alvan. Whatever be the predicament, he was not lacking in courage to run away to save his life. Why then did Ramanujar leave Srirangam? Who were responsible for it? The discipline and regulations enforced by Ramanujar in the management of the Srirangam temple caused dissatisfaction among the coteries of the Mutt. They were not well-disposed towards him. Even the Vaishnava traditions state that once Rāmānuja was offered poisoned *tirtam* by an *archakar*. However, Ramanujar survived it due to his spiritual power. On another occasion, a Brahmin connected with the temple sent poisoned food to Ramanujar through his wife, but

12. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *op. cit.*, pp. 319-320; also N. Jagadeesan, *op. cit.*, p. 291.

13. *Annual Report on Epigraphy*, 1921, No. 315.

Ramanujar did not eat it thanks to the silent hint of the woman who gave it. So, it is definite that there was at least a section of the temple staff who were hostile to Ramanujar.

Besides, the orthodox Brahmins of Srirangam hated Ramanujar very much because he never cared for *Vaṁāśrama dharma* and moved freely with people of all castes including the untouchables. He was giving *pañcha samskāras* to men and women of the lowest caste. His intimate contact with persons like Pillai Urangavillidasan was too much for the fundamentalists to bear. Ramanujar's treatment of Maraneri Nambi in life and after death appeared to be outrageous to all orthodox people.

There is an honest suspicion that the orthodox people who had strong dislike towards Ramanujar and the dissatisfied functionaries of the Srirangam temple made a successful plot to dislodge Ramanujar and his associates from the management of the Srirangam temple. The anguished Ramanujar and his followers did nothing to counter it. With a few of his followers, Ramanujar left Srirangam on his own accord for the Kannada country. The suspicion is further supported by the following statement of the *Kōil Olugu*, a work of the 18th century, dealing with the history of the Srirangam temple: "Kulottunga Chola came to Srirangam and making obeisance to Emberumanar, entirely parted with his authority over the temple in his favour, giving him the deed of gift and sanctifying it with pouring of water." Therefore, in all probability, Ramanujar must have left for the Kannada country in order to avoid conflict with his adversaries during the intervening period. It is unlikely that there was any political pressure for his migration to the Kannada country. The intervention of the Chola emperor in the affairs of the Srirangam temple in favour of Ramanujar must have taken place after his return from the Kannada country. It may be noted here that Tiruvarangattu Amudanar in his *Ramanuja Nurrandathi* (v. 72) says that Ramanujar ignored in disgust the religious rebels as *kaittanāṇ ūya samayak kalakarai*: Who were they? This unmistakably indicates that Ramanujar had opponents within the precinct of Srirangam Mutt. In this connection, we may consider the claim of Rajaraja II, the son and successor of Kulottunga II who in his *Meykirthi* asserts to have restored the fallen or weakened Vaishnavism (*vilunta arisamayameduttu*).<sup>14</sup> What was the setback for Vaishnavism in the previous period? The statement cannot denote any

14. P. Subrahmaniam, *op. cit.*, p. 133.



undoing of his father's removal of the idol of Govindaraja because Rajaraja II did not reinstall any idol of Govindaraja in the Chidambaram temple. In fact, there was no worship in the Govindaraja shrine of the Chidambaram temple until the reign of Achuta Raya in the 16th century. So, the reference in the *meykinthi* may be taken as indicating a disturbance in the Vaishnava order at Srirangam - possibly a conflict between the orthodox group and the followers of Ramanujar in the affairs of the Srirangam temple resulting in Ramanujar's migration to Kannada country.

Now, a doubt may arise whether Kirumikanda Chola's alleged persecution is a myth created by later Vaishnava writers to suppress the hostile reaction of the orthodox group to the activities of Ramanujar. A word about the Vaishnava traditions must be mentioned here. There are many *Guruparamparais*. Of them, *Ārāyirppaḍi Guruparamparai*, written by Pinpalagiya Perumal Jiyar in the 15th century A.D., is the earliest. Next one is *Pannirāyirappaḍi Guruparamparai*, the authorship and date of which is uncertain. It contains more detailed information than the first. In the 16th century A.D., the *Mūvāyirappaḍi Guruparamparai* was written by Brahmatantra Svatantira Jiyar III of Parakala Mutt. The *Divyasūri Charitam* was the celebrated work of Garudavahana Pandita in the 15th century. Similarly, the *Periya Thirumudai Adaivu* was brought out in the same century. The *Prapannamrutam* belonged to the 17th century. The *Kōil Oḷugu*, which was produced in the 18th century and reproduced early in the 19th century, was alone to some extent, based on local epigraphs. All these are panegyrics, often legendary, containing pious exaggerations, contradictions and chronological errors. There are a few later additions, which are imaginative, interpretative and wilful. All these were written in *maṇipravāḷa* style (a mixture of Tamil and Sanskrit) by uncritical devotees who called them *Kālatshēpa Granthās*. These traditional works possess a little historical value and their data must be handled with abundant caution and care. They do require trustworthy corroborative evidences to prove the historical truth. Competent historians have cautioned against any total dependence on these traditions.

We have also a myth like that of Kirumikanda Chola based on a later tradition in the history of Saivism. Rajaraja Chola I is hailed by scholars as Tirumuraikanda Cholan. The view is based upon the *Tirumuraikandapurānam*

of Umapathy Sivachariyar who lived in the first half of the 14th century A.D., long after Rajaraja I. The story runs as follows: With the help of Nambian-dar Nambi, the Chola king by name Rajaraja Abhayakulasekaran discovered the partly damaged palm leaf manuscripts of the *Dēvāram* in the Chidambaram temple. Abhayakulasekaran is identified with Rajaraja I without satisfactory evidence. Rajaraja I did not have that title at all or was not named so in any record of his time. He did not claim in any of his records that he discovered the *Dēvāram* manuscripts. His *meykīrthi* is totally silent about it. Added to this, Jayankondar and Ottakkuttar narrate the achievements of Chola rulers from the time of Karikala Chola, but they do not mention about this matter at all. Further, Nambiandar Nambi lived long before the reign of Rajaraja, probably as T.V. Sadasiva Pandarathar says, towards the close of the 9th century A.D. in the time of Aditya I. Moreover, the *Dēvāram* hymns were widely popular even during the times of the Pal-lavas and it is a fact that arrangements were made for their recitation in Siva temples such as Tiruvallam temple. *Ōduvars*, who were trained in singing the *Dēvāram*, were appointed in many temples before the time of Rajaraja I. It was not possible for them to train the younger generations without the aid of manuscripts. Therefore, there is no justification for calling Rajaraja I Tirumuraikanda Cholan.

The date of Ramanujar requires a serious consideration on account of much controversy. All the Vaishnava traditions except one, are of view that he lived for 120 years. They also furnish the details of his birth as follows: Tamil *Piṅgala* year, *Chittirai* month, Friday, *Pañjami thithi*, *Suk-lapatcham*, *Tiruvāthirai* star, but no era is mentioned. On the basis of the data mentioned above, Vaishnava writers fixed A.D. 1017 as the year of his birth. In his *Prabantha Saram*, Vedanta Desikan mentions only the month and the star of Ramanujar's birth, viz. *Chittirai* and *Tiruvāthirai*. The *Periya Tirumudi Adaivu* belonging to the 15th century gives us the number of years that Ramanujar and his disciples lived as follows: Ramanujar - 180 years, Kuratalvan - 108, Mudaliandan - 105, Tiruvarangattu Amudanar - 108, Anantalvan - 150, Kidambi Achchan - 100. T.N. Subrahmanian, who edited the temple inscriptions, is firm in his opinion that tradition is not uniform in this matter and therefore cannot be entirely depended upon.<sup>15</sup> The veteran historian, Prof. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, remarks "the details of the chronology

15. T.N. Subrahmanian, *South Indian Temple Inscriptions*, Vol. III, pt. II, pp. 147-160.



of the life of Ramanujar furnished by traditions are not easy to explain .... and it is perhaps impossible to reconcile all the data furnished by legend on any single hypothesis".<sup>16</sup>

The data of the traditions have been recently examined by S. Kalyanarama Aiyangar, author of *Sri Ramanuja Charitra Araichi Magimai* (1978). He opines that Ramanujar was born not on Friday but only on Thursday. Generally, confusion may occur about the duration of star and *Thithi* and not about the day unless the source is of doubtful nature. The information furnished by *Periya Tirumudi Adaivu* seems to have been meant for credulous devotees.

A careful study of the *Indian Ephemeris* of L.D. Swamikkanu Pillai suggests an altogether different date for Ramanujar's birth. The conjunction of Tamil Cyclic year *Pingala*, Friday, the eighth day of *Chithirai* month, *Suklapatcham* and *Tiruvāthirai* star took place in the year 1077, i.e. seventy years after the date fixed by traditionalists. This date is in harmony with the details of Ramanujar's birth. The earlier date of birth, viz. A.D. 1017 arrived at by scholars like P. Sri, T.A. Gopinatha Rao, N. Jagadeesan was obviously based on false presumptions. There is no doubt that Ramanujar was a contemporary of Kulottunga I, Vikrama Chola and Kulottunga II. A.D. 1077 is a date that very well synchronises the contemporaneity of Ramanujar with those Chola rulers and the Hoysala King Bittideva Vishnuvardhana (1111-41) and Ghattideva Yadavaraya, a feudatory of Kulottunga II. Therefore, A.D. 1077 may be regarded as the authentic year of Ramanujar's birth. A western scholar, Carman holds the same view.

As to the long duration of Ramanujar's life, we do require definitive proof for any extraordinary longevity of a historical personality. T.N. Subramanian says that Ramanujar completed his *Śrī Bāshya* only between 1155-56. Whatever may be the controversy with regard to his date of birth, there is no specific evidence to fix the date of his demise. The fact that he lived for a long time may be true but how long is the question which still remains unsolved.

16. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Colas*, p. 296.

Like the Buddha, Ramanujar possessed all elements of a great personality. Though Ramanujar was not destined to become a disciple of Alavandar, he had the deepest reverence for that *Āchārya*, followed his path when he succeeded him, fulfilled his desire by writing the *Śrī Bāshya* and learnt a good deal from his distinguished disciples. His discipleship was characterized by humility, unfailing politeness, frankness, fearlessness, service, discriminate learning, independent thinking and bold convictions. As a preceptor, he preached what he practised thereby setting an inspiring example for others; he was totally free from vanity and advised his followers to give up the pride arising out of wealth, birth and learning. He took care of his disciples' well-being - both spiritual and material. His exposition of *Visishtadvaita* clearly reveals that he was not only a genius but also a great philosopher. His treatment of the *Bāgavathas* was true to his principles and he loved them deeply without distinction of caste. His approach to social issues speaks of his practical wisdom. Though he never attached importance to *Varnaśrama Dharma*, he did not compel his followers to follow suit. He showed extraordinary moral courage in ignoring the displeasure of the orthodox Brahmins. His magnetic personality had contributed to the popularity and growth of Vaishnavism in South India. In short, Ramanujar is the finest flower of Vaishnava culture, and he occupies a very high place in the religious history of India.

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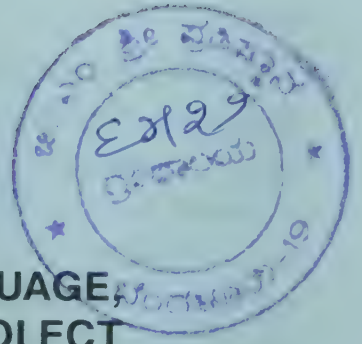
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## THE CONCEPT OF INTER-LANGUAGE INTER-DIALECT AND INTER-IDIOLECT

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### Abstract

*The learners' target language during the course of a second language learning situation is called Interlanguage by Selinker (1969) and idiosyncratic dialect by Pit Corder (1973). This proposition suits well when the class is homogeneous. But when the class of learners is heterogeneous with different mother tongue groups there would be different such interlanguages which are referred to in this paper as inter-dialects, and similarly, the individual varieties of these inter-dialects as inter-idiolects. These concepts are discussed in this paper in detail.*

### 1. Introduction

In a second language learning situation, the learner starts without any preconceived notions about the target language (TL). As soon as the learning starts, certain concepts and notions about the structure of the language in general, and about its sound system, its phonological, morphological and grammatical patterns, and its semantic concepts in particular are formed in the mind of the learner. At the beginning, these concepts and notions will be very vague and fluid. As the duration of learning increases, these concepts and notions start taking more clear shape. Exposure of the learner to the two receptive skills of listening and reading make him firmer in the concepts already formed in his mind, and he will be tempted to attempt the two productive skills of speaking and writing. Exactly at this stage the learner's so far vague and fluid concepts and notions start taking a concrete shape. He forms his own linguistic habits in the target language (TL) and starts using them in both speaking and writing. These linguistic habits collectively form into a variety of the TL with its own characteristics which

are not familiar to any social group or speaker of the TL, but vaguely resembling in certain features the TL and in some other features the mother tongue (MT) and any other language already known to him. This definitely is a code, a code with mixed phonological, morphological, lexical and syntactic features often with wrong semantic connotations is the learner's variety of the TL which he uses, i.e., speaks and writes at that stage of learning. This variety of the learner's language is called by Pit Corder (1973) an *idiosyncratic dialect*. As Pit Corder observes, that in a homogeneous class of learners, other learners also have such codes or *idiosyncratic dialects*, but the common core of these idiosyncratic dialects cannot be called a language since they do not use this for communicating with each other. But this idiosyncratic dialect of the learner is unstable and lies between the codes of the MT of the learner and TL, and hence Selinker (1969) calls it *interlanguage*.

## 2. Interlanguage

A learner of a second language forms his own linguistic habits in the TL, and at a particular stage of learning possesses a set of habits which together resemble a variety of TL, and this variety is termed by Selinker (1969) *interlanguage*. To be more explicit, *interlanguage* possesses the following characteristics.

- (i) It possesses the features of the TL at all levels - phonological, morphological, lexical, syntactic and semantic - whose magnitude is directly proportional to the amount of learning - less at the initial stage of learning which gradually increases as the duration of learning increases.
- (ii) It possesses the features of the mother tongue (MT) of the learner and also the other languages at his command at all levels whose magnitude is inversely proportional to the duration of learning - more at the initial stage of learning. This gradually decreases as the duration of learning increases.
- (iii) The characteristics of an interlanguage are an amalgam of the characteristics of both the TL, and the MT and the other languages known to the learner already.



- (iv) The characteristics of an interlanguage are more artificial as they do not belong to any language or a social group.
- (v) The characteristics of an interlanguage possess a set of rules and concepts, not those of either the TL, or the MT of the learner or other languages known to him already, but looking similar to both the TL and the MT in certain respects.
- (vi) It is a transitional language of the learner looking more similar in characteristics initially to the MT or other already known languages of the learner, and drifting with a certain speed towards the TL as more and more learning of TL takes place.

The pace of drifting of the interlanguage is directly proportional to the pace of learning capacity of the learner on one hand, and also the pace of instruction on the other hand. The pace of this change in the characteristics of an interlanguage is constant and continues as long as the learning takes place and varies from learner to learner. In a homogeneous class these transitional idiolects or idiosyncratic varieties of the language form the interlanguage precisely.

The drifting of interlanguage towards the TL is infinite and appears to tend to merge with it after a long duration of acquaintance but may or may not merge. Even after many years of exposure to the TL environment we still find some unaffected features of the learner's MT in the speech and writings of some persons whose MT is not the TL, but acquired it as a second language. These unaffected forms can be called *relic errors*.

The following diagrammatic representation will present the above concept in a clearer manner.

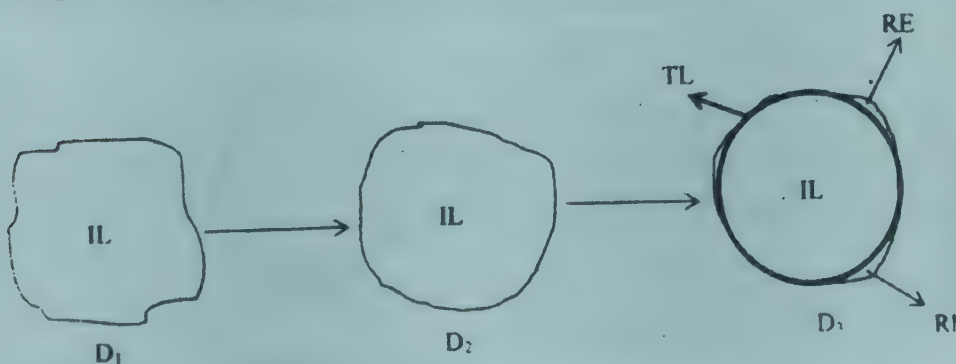


Diagram 1

*Note:* In Diagram 1 ( $D_1$ ), the interlanguage has not taken proper shape. After more learning took place, it has taken more concrete shape appearing closer to TL ( $D_2$ ). As further learning took place, it has merged almost with the TL but not completely ( $D_3$ ). The unmerged portions represent *relic errors*.

3. Interlanguage and Inter-dialect

If the class of learners of the TL consists of a heterogeneous group comprising of two or more MT sub-groups, then each linguistic group, i.e., each sub-group of learners speaking the same MT will have a set of intra-group linguistic habits resembling a sort of interlanguage with a common core, or a set of common linguistic habits between them. Each such set of linguistic habits, or idiosyncratic varieties of the target language has shared features with other such varieties in the whole class, and each such idiosyncratic variety is intelligible to the users of other such varieties. We can term such set of linguistic habits limited to a MT sub-group of learners *inter-dialect*. Thus, if there are two MT sub-groups of learners in a class there will be two *inter-dialects* with a set of common habits to both the sub-groups. At the beginning of a language course, the common core may be small which as the duration of the course increases gradually will become larger and larger. At the same time, the inter-dialects undergoing changes and merging together drift towards the TL corpus tending to merge with it at an indefinite time.

The above concept is presented diagrammatically as follows:

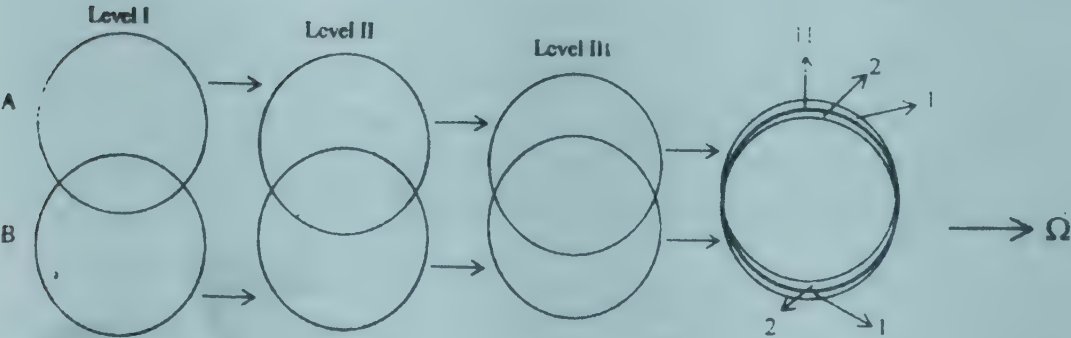


Diagram 2

[1. Relic Errors; 2. Unlearned forms / Uncontained Forms]



The same concept works when there are more MT sub-groups in a second language learning situation, each MT sub-group possessing an inter-dialect which finally merges with the defined corpus of the TL.

#### 4. Relic Errors and Unlearned Forms

In a second language learning situation the learner, especially an adult learner, may commit a certain error at a certain stage of learning and he continues to commit the same error until the end of the course and even after. That is, the error is unaffected by the remedial measures taken by the teacher. The error may remain in the variety of the TL of the learner as a fossilized form and become a permanent feature. Such fossilized errors I call *relic errors*. This holds good even in the case of those learners who learn a second language by themselves without a teacher, when they live in the natural environment of the language. For instance, many learners of Telugu (a Dravidian language) pronounce the dental affricates as palatal affricates, and in spite of repeated oral practice this remains in the speech of the learners. This is an instance of a *relic error*.

In Diagram 2, inter-dialects A and B gradually as the duration of the learning and language acquaintance increased have come closer and merged together, and in turn merging with T (TL). But this language variety or the interlanguage has not totally merged. There are a few areas outside the TL boundary which are marked by 1. These are the *relic errors* precisely.

On the other hand, the learners will not be able to learn all that is in the specified variety of the TL. Here there exist two situations.

- (i) **A Controlled Situation**, where a course material exists. The course material does not contain the TL in its entirety even if it is a specified dialect. It represents a sampled variety of the TL depending on the need of the course.
- (ii) **An Uncontrolled Situation**, where the TL is vast and includes all that is in the TL which is acceptable to the native speakers of that variety. Now, coming to our earlier point that the learners will not be able to

learn all that is in the TL, we find under the controlled situation every linguistic form in the course material specified is taught, but the learner could not learn it effectively, and under the uncontrolled situation there are certain forms and structures in the TL which are not taught to the learners formally, and due to their acquaintance and association with the language and its speakers the learners may learn themselves some of them, but cannot learn some others even after a long association with the TL. Such unfamiliar linguistic forms and structures of the TL can be called *unlearned forms* in the case of controlled situation and *uncontained forms* in the case of uncontrolled situation. In Diagram 2, areas marked by 2 indicate them.

Also, it is better that we reserve the term error to the deviations the learner makes from the TL in the controlled situation and use *lapses* to those deviations in the uncontrolled situation.

The status of interlanguage varies depending on the group of second language learners in respect of the same TL. That is, in respect of a particular TL, the interlanguage we find in a particular classroom situation when the learners belong to one MT sub-group say  $L_{11}$ , will not be the same with another MT sub-group say  $L_{12}$ , and so on. Also, in real class room situations we may not find a group of learners belonging only to one particular MT or linguistic group. Therefore, we have to examine the concept of interlanguage in the following two classroom situations.

### (1) A Homogeneous Group of Learners

When the group of learners is homogeneous - speaking the same MT, or share features of other dominant languages, the interlanguage which consists more of MT features and less TL features in the initial stages of learning gradually drifts towards the TL and reaches more closer to it at an advanced stage. The interlanguage in this situation moves towards the TL with the pace of the learner's learning ability, and finally it may or may not merge with the specified TL corpus. This can be presented diagrammatically as follows:



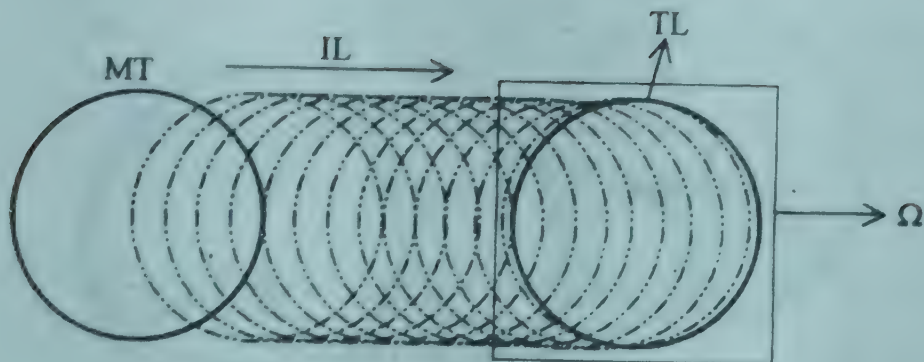


Diagram 3

In Diagram 3, MT represents the mother tongue, TL the specified target language and IL the interlanguage.

Circles with dotted lines represent interlanguage (IL). These circles representing interlanguage may or may not merge with the circle representing TL. Since certain forms of TL may not at all be mastered by the learners, there are certain *relic errors*. The square marked  $\Omega$  represents the universal set of target language, i.e., the total corpus of the target language of which the specified target language (TL in Diagram 3) corpus for a particular course is a subset.

## (2) Heterogeneous Group of Learners

In practical situations, always we do not get a homogeneous group of learners, i.e., learners with the same MT back ground. In a particular class we may have two or three MT sub-groups. In such a situation each MT sub-group will have linguistic forms resembling an interlanguage existing under similar conditions as in Situation 1 above. These sets of linguistic forms or *approximative systems* as Nemser (1971) called will have a common core or intersection of all of them. The following diagram depicts the situation of two MT sub-groups of learners and the position of interlanguage.

All such groups of linguistic forms or approximative systems again possess features of both MT and TL. Therefore, in such a situation the interlanguage is the total of all these groups of forms together, and each group of these forms I call an *inter-dialect*. In other words, each MT sub-

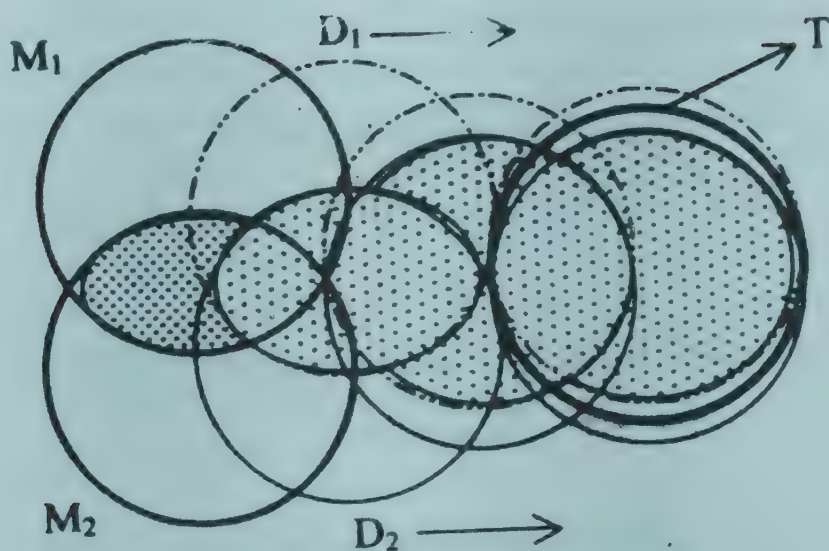


Diagram 4

group possesses a set of linguistic features - irrespective of the individual features of the learners in that sub-group - which share some common features with the sets of features of other MT sub-groups. Hence, if we call the totality of the features of all the MT sub-groups an *interlanguage*, then the set of such features of each MT sub-group is an *inter-dialect*. To be more explicit, let us consider Diagram 4 above.

Suppose  $M_1$  and  $M_2$  are the sets representing two MTs of two sub-groups of learners. Let  $T$  represent the specified corpus of TL universe which is to be learnt. Sets  $D_1$  and  $D_2$  represent respectively the linguistic habits of the learners consisting of the features of both  $M_1$  and  $T$  and  $M_2$  and  $T$  respectively. In other words,  $D_1$  intersects with  $M_1$  and also with  $T$  and similarly,  $D_2$  intersects with  $M_2$  and also with  $T$ . In this particular situation, the totality of these two sets, i.e., the union  $D_1 \cup D_2$  (read  $\cup$  = Union) becomes the interlanguage and  $D_1$  and  $D_2$  are the inter-dialects. These inter-dialects share their features with both their MTs and TL. Further, there are shared features by both  $M_1$  and  $M_2$  (thickly dotted area) and also by  $D_1$  and  $D_2$  (thinly dotted area); the latter, a subset of both  $D_1$  and  $D_2$  enlarging as the duration of learning increases. They also possess a common subset  $D_1 \cap D_2$  (read  $\cap$  = Intersection), consisting of the shared features or common core of both  $D_1$  and  $D_2$ , enlarges as the duration of the course increases. The intersection of  $M_1$  and  $M_2$  is the set of common features of both the MTs. If both the MTs are cognate to each other, this set will be



larger. The intersections  $M_1 \cap D_1$  and  $M_2 \cap D_2$  will also be larger, and  $D_1 \cap T$  and  $D_2 \cap T$  will be smaller in the initial stages of learning. As the learning process continues the former (i.e.,  $M_1 \cap D_1$  and  $M_2 \cap D_2$ ) gradually become smaller and smaller and become disjoint at a certain stage, and the latter (i.e.,  $T \cap D_1$  and  $T \cap D_2$ ) become larger and larger.

Also, the common core of  $D_1$  and  $D_2$ , i.e.,  $D_1 \cap D_2$  becomes gradually larger. Finally after a long duration of learning,  $D_1$  and  $D_2$  merging themselves may merge with set  $T$ , i.e.,  $D_1 \cap D_2 = D_1 = D_2 = T$ . This may be possible only after an indefinite period of time. But in this process the unmerged forms are the relic errors, and the unincluded forms of the specified TL, that is, the forms not included in the course material, or those the learner never came across during the course of his learning I call *uncontained forms*.

No second language learner, especially among adult learners, learns a language on a par with the native speaker, in the sense that there are always certain phonological features, certain words, certain grammatical structures, certain semantic habits which the learner never comes across. He may come across them after an indefinite period of time. In other words, no learner is exposed to a second language in its entirety. Similarly, no second language teaching material contains the entire target language corpus - not even the entire standard variety. Any teaching material contains only a sampled variety of the TL, a more frequently occurring variety of the forms and structures of that language. That is, the course material chooses a particular amount of the TL including of course, the entire speech system, more frequent and prevalent vocabulary, morphological forms (e.g., *you* against *thou*) in English, *annam* instead of *ku:du* or *buvva* 'food' in Telugu, *svalpa* instead of *koñca* 'little' in Kannada, *i: va:la* instead of *i: poddu* or *i: ro:dzu* 'today' in Telugu, grammatical structures (e.g., *vaccina tarva:ta* instead of *vaccina:naka* 'after coming', *tinaku* instead of *tinavaddu* 'do not eat' in Telugu), semantic connotations *avāsaram* 'need' instead of 'time', *śikṣa* 'punishment' instead of 'education' in Telugu, etc., and so on.

## 5. CONCLUSION

Interlanguage is the language of the learner, i.e., the variety of the TL of the learner during the course of learning, different from the variety being

learnt, with a mixture of phonology, vocabulary and grammars of both the TL and the MT.

Each individual of a group of second language learners has his own variety of TL and each MT sub-group in a heterogeneous class has a variety which is different from another MT sub-group, and finally the whole group in a class having a variety with certain commonness but different from the TL that is being taught/learnt. If we call this variety of the TL interlanguage, then the variety of interlanguage belonging to each MT sub-group of the whole class of learners in a heterogeneous situation becomes an *inter-dialect*, and the variety of the *inter-dialect* of each individual learner in each MT sub-group an *inter-idiolect*.

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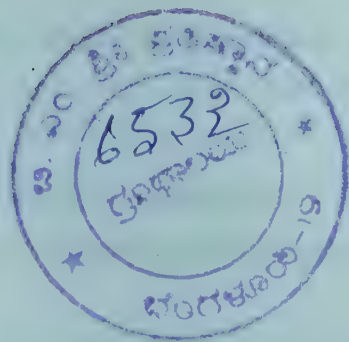
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**Notes & Discussions**

## **THE DRAVIDIAN ORIGIN OF THE WORD FOR HORSE**

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It is usually taken for granted that the horse was introduced to African and Dravidian people by Asians or Indo-Europeans. But the evidence suggests that the horse was early domesticated by African and Dravidian-speaking people long before the Indo-Europeans employed the horse.

There is abundant evidence that the Dravidians may have originated in Middle Africa. In Saharan Africa, the Dravidian people perfected a magnificent culture / civilization which they took with them to the Indus Valley and Iran.

It has usually been assumed that the horse was introduced into Africa by the Hyksos. But as indicated below, the affinities between the terms for horse in Dravidian and African languages indicate that the horse was domesticated by Dravidians, and other Proto-Saharans before the Asian invasion of Egypt, and spread of the Indo-European-speaking people. Archaeological evidence indicates that the horse was known to the Nubians centuries before its common use in Egypt.<sup>1</sup>

Saharan Africans used the donkey and later horses as beast of burden. The ass or donkey was domesticated in the Sahara at Maadi 3650 B.C.<sup>2</sup>

1. J.E.M. White, *Ancient Egypt*, New York, 1970, p. viii.

2. Fekri A. Hassan, "The Predynastic of Egypt", *Journal of World Prehistory*, 2 (2), 1988, pp. 135-185, p. 145.

A domesticated Equus was found at Hierakonpolis dating around the same period.<sup>3</sup>

The horse was also found at other sites in the Sahara. Skeletons of horses dating around 2000 B.C. have been found in the Sahara-Sahel zone.<sup>4</sup>

Most researchers believe that the horse was introduced to Africa / Egypt by the Hysos after 1700 B.C. This is an interesting date, and far too late for the introduction of the horse given the archaeological evidence for horses at Maadi and the Sahel-Sahara zone.

In this region, we find many horses depicted in the rock art. Some researchers have dated the rock art to after 1000 B.C., based on the association of the camel with horses in the rock art.

Although the horse and camel are depicted in the rock art of Nubia, the Sahel-Sahara and Upper Egypt, they are considered to be related to the Graeco-Roman period. This date is far too late for the camel and horse to be used for domesticated purposes. During the Old Kingdom, camel hair cord was used by the Egyptians.<sup>5</sup> Moreover, camel figurines are found in Gerzean (3500 B.C.) and archaic Egyptian context.<sup>6</sup>

In the Sahelian-Saharan rock art, the horse is frequently depicted. The horse is often associated with being rode by the personages depicted in the rock art.<sup>7</sup> In the same area, we find engravings of men capturing horses

3. Ibid., p. 161; J. McArdle, *Preliminary Report on the Predynastic Fauna of the Hierakonpolis Project Studies Association*, Cairo, Publication No. 1, 1982, pp. 116-121, p. 120.

4. A.F.C. Holl, "Livestock Husbandry, Pastoralism and Territoriality: The West African Record", *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology*, 17, 1998, pp. 143-165.

5. W.M. Davies, "Dating Prehistoric Rock Drawings in Upper Egypt and Nubia", *Current Anthropology*, 19 (1), pp. 216-217.

6. D.P. McCall, "The Cultural Map and Time Profile of the Mande-speaking People" in D. Dalby (Ed.), *Papers on the Manding*, Bloomington, 1976, pp. 76-78.

7. Alfred Muzzolini, "Les Chars au Sahara et en Egypte. Les Chars des Peuples de la Mer et la Vague Orientalisante en Afrique", *Revue D'Egyptologie*, Tome 45, 1994, pp. 207-234: p. 216.



probably to be rode or harnessed to a chariot.<sup>8</sup> There are numerous pictures of blacks riding in chariots. Some researchers have dated this art to 600 B.C. This date is probably far too late given the fact that the horse is attested too early in the archaeological history of Saharan Africa as discussed above.

At Buhen, one of the major fortresses of Nubia, which served as headquarters of the Egyptian Viceroy of Kush, a skeleton of a horse was found lying on the pavement of a Middle Kingdom rampart<sup>9</sup> dating to 1675 B.C. This was only 25 years after the Hysos had conquered Egypt. This suggests that the Kushites had been riding horses for an extended period of time for them to be able to attack Buhen on horseback. This also supports the early habits of Africans riding horses as depicted in the rock art.

The Nubians and Upper Egyptians were great horsemen whereas the Lower Egyptians usually rode the chariot, the Nubian warriors of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty rode on horseback.<sup>10</sup> The appearance of the horse lying on a Buhen rampart may indicate it was used by Kushite warriors attacking Buhen. No matter what the use of the horse was, the linguistic evidence makes it clear that the horse was part of Saharan culture before the advent of the Indo-Europeans.

There are many Dravidian and African words for 'horse'. One of the most ancient Dravidian forms for 'horse' may be Brahui *hulli* and Tamil *ivuli*. This ancient form of the word for 'horse' appears in African languages with consonant /l/ or /d/ as the main consonant and the vowels /o/ or /u/. Below, we compared the Malinke (M.), Bambara (B.), Nubia (N), Wolof (W.), Hausa, Tamil (Ta.), Malayam (Mal.), Somali (Som.), Kanarese (Ka.), Telugu (Tel.), Kordofan Nubian (KN) languages. The African languages belong either to the Niger-Congo Family or the Cushitic Family of languages.

8. Ibid., p. 214.

9. White, p. 168; W.B. Emery, "A Masterwork of Egyptian Military Architecture 3900 Years ago", *Illustrated London News*, 12 September, pp. 250-251.

10. W.A. Fairervis, *The Ancient Kingdoms of the Nile*, London, 1962, p. 129.

## Horse

M. *wolu*, B. *b'lu*, *wolo*, N. *unde*, Ta. *iyuli*, Brahui. *hulli*

Another ancient form of the word for 'horse' was \**par-* / \**far-*.

Other Dravidian-African terms for 'horse': Mande. *wolu*, B. *b'lu*, *wolo*, Mande. *bara* 'grey horse', Hausa. *baraba* 'swift horse', W. *fas*, Som. *fara-ka*, Egyptian. *nefer*, Serere. *pis*, Ta., Mal. *pari*, Ta. *payyeru*, Fulani. *pūcu*, Mande. *bari*, Ge'ez. *faras*, Galla. or Oromo. *farda*, *ferda*, Ka. *karte*, Ta. *kar-tai*, Hausa. *doki*, Tel. *gadide*, Kanuri Nile. *koś*, Hausa. *godiya*

The Dravidians and Niger-Congo speakers formerly lived in the highlands of the Sahara. Many of these people migrated into West Africa. In West Africa, according to Daniel McCall, the horse was in the Sahara during the Second Millennium B.C.<sup>11</sup> This would explain the affinity between the Dravidian and African terms for 'horse' outlined above.

The Saharan horse was small in size. These horses match perfectly the horses depicted with the Saharan chariot riders. These horses were still used by the warriors of ancient Ghana as noted by the Arabic writer, Al-Bekri, when he visited this area.

The fact that the chariots found in West Africa resemble those of Crete does not mean that the riders of these chariots had to have come from Crete. In fact, Greek traditions make it clear that the ancient Cretans, called Minoans, came from Africa.<sup>12</sup>

The Dravidian and African languages share similar names for 'wheel'.

E.g. Galla. *makurakura*, Tulu. *gali*, *tagori*, Swahili. *guru*, *dumu*, Mande. *koli*, *kori*, *murufē*, Ta. *kal*, *ari*, *urul*, *tikiri*, Ka. *gali tiguri*, *tigari*

11. McCall, p. 61.

12. J.G. Jackson, *Introduction to African Civilization*, Secausus. 1976, pp. 76-78.



It would appear that the Proto-African-Dravidian term for 'wheel' was *\*-ori / \*-uri*, *\*go / uri* and *\*ko / uri*. The Proto-South Dravidian term for 'wheel' is *\*tigu / ori*. The linguistic evidence suggests that, in the proto-language, the speakers of Proto-African-Dravidian used either the vowels *o / u* or *a / i* after the consonants. It is also evident that the *l* and *r* were interchangeable in the construction of the term for 'wheel'.

The horse disappeared from the Sahara as the area became increasingly drier. This forced the original West African domesticated horses to move southward where they are presently found.

### Central Asian Horses

In India, the horse appeared at Harappan sites as early as the Third Millennium B.C.<sup>13</sup> This put the horse in the Indus Valley centuries before the Aryan invasion. It stands to reason that if the Indo-Europeans had been part of the Harappan civilization, and the horse was a major part of their society, this animal would have been depicted in the Indus Valley seals. But, as evident in the hundreds of Harappan seals found so far, there have been no seals with horses engraved on the surface. In addition, during the Indian Megalithic period, the horse was extensively used by the Dravidians. Remains of horse bits have been found at Junapani near Nagpur.

Disagreement surrounds the use of the horse in Central Asia although some researchers believe that the domesticated horse was first introduced to Central Asia by the Indo-Europeans. This theory has little archaeological support. The horse in Central Asia, like the ass, may have been mainly used as a source of food until 500 B.C., by the Central Asian pastoralist groups. Full pastoral nomadic exploitation strategies do not appear in Central Asia until after 500 B.C.

V.M. Masson believes that horse domestication and riding in Central Asia developed in the First Millennium B.C. on the steppe. The French archaeologist Francefort views the intensive use of horses as an Iron-Age

13. S. Pigott, *Prehistoric India to 1000 B.C.*, London, 1950, p. 121.

innovation associated with semi-nomadism. This was hundreds of years after Africans had been riding horses in the Sahara and the Sudan.

Although we cannot positively date the domestication of the horse in Central Asia, by the Fourth Millennium B.C. horse remains have been found on the steppes. Horse bones have come from the Batay site and the Mariupol culture. The Mariupol culture is a group of short-lived settlements in forest-steppe zones along the Dnieper river. Around eighty percent of the animal remains from Mariupol are of horse bones.

Horse bones dating to the Fourth and Third Millenniums B.C. have been found at Batay. Around ninety-five percent of the faunal remains at Batay are horses. At Batay, local Central Asians made horse-bone tools.

It would appear that most of the early horsemen in Central Asia came from Iran, rather than southern Russia. The nomad artisans of the Third Millennium B.C. steppes show affinity to artisans from Iran. During this period, pastures provided grazing and herds with abundant food (Masson 1986: 80). These horsemen would have been Dravidian and / or Elamite-speaking people, not Indo-Iranian-speaking people who seem to have learned about the horse from the Dravidian-speaking people.

In the Second Millennium B.C., the horse was extensively exploited throughout Central Asia. For example, at the 17th - 16th century B.C. site of Sinatasha, there are horse and chariot burials. These horsemen made fine bronze-head spears.

The oldest alleged Indo-European language spoken in Central Asia is Tocharian. Although many researchers believe Tocharian is an Indo-European language, it was probably in reality a trade language, used by the diverse people of Central Asia to communicate.

The Dravidian language is especially close to Tocharian A (TA). It would appear that Tocharian B (TB) has been greatly influenced by the Indo-European languages. For example, there is labialization of labiovelars before voiceless consonants in TB.



In TA on the other hand, there are a few traces of an earlier distinction between labiovelars and velar plus <sup>\*</sup>w clusters.

E.g. horse: TB. *yakwe*, Old English. *eoh*, Latin. *eqūs*

> <sup>\*</sup>*yakwe* PIE <sup>\*</sup>*ekwos* Sanskrit. *asvas*, Old Irish. *ech*

TA. *yuk*

Dog: TB. *kwem* < PIE <sup>\*</sup>*kwena* < PIE acc. <sup>\*</sup>*kwonm* (Sanskrit. *svanam*)

The TA terms for Central Asian domesticates agree with Dravidian terms.

### 1. Tocharian A *ku* 'dog'

Dravidian *kona* id., Ka. *kunni*, Ta. *kukkal*, Ta. *kuran*, Tel. *kukka*, Mal. *cokkan*

### 3. Tocharian A *ko* 'bovine'

Dravidian *kode* id., Toda *kor*, Kolami *ku.te*, Tel. *kode*, Kolami *konda*, *konde*, Ta. *kali*, Kan. *gonde*, Gadba *konde*, Gondi *konda* 'bullock'

As you can see from the above, the Dravidians and Tocharian A group share many terms for animals, e.g. *o ku-na* # 'dog' / Toch. *o ku* #; *o kode* # 'cow', Toch. *o ko* #; and *o ivuli* # 'horse' Toch. *o yuk* #.

Dravidian-speaking people probably introduced the horse and chariots to Central Asia. In Mongolian, the term for 'cart' is *terga*; this corresponds to Ta. *tēr* 'car', 'chariot', Ka. *tēr(u)* 'chariot'.

The terms used for horse in Central Asia agree with Dravidian terms. This is interesting because it has affinity to Dravidian and Mongolian words for 'horse' including: Buryat (Mongolian). *gūn*, *gu* 'mare', Ta. *kutirai*, *karutai*, Ka. *karte* 'horse', Proto-Nilotic. <sup>\*</sup>*tike:ri* 'donkey', Hausa. *kutur*, *kuturi*

'hindquarters of a horse or donkey', Tel. *gurramu*, *gadide* 'horse'; Hausa. *uoki*, *gōdiya*; Kanuri. *koš*, Kol. *gurramu*

Tocharian A *yu* 'horse', Mande. *wolu*, Ta. *ivuli* id., B. *b'lu*, *wolo*, Brahui. *hulli* id., Nubian. *unde*, Tel. *payyoli* id.

Many researchers may dispute the affinity between Dravidian Ø *ivuli* # and Tocharian A Ø *yuk* # 'horse'. Yet the identification of Tocharian A *yuk*, to Dravidian is much more supportable than the PIE root for 'horse'. This results from the fact that there are five different Proto-Indo-European (PIE) roots for 'horse'. This multitude for PIE roots for 'horse' makes these terms inconclusive for the PIE lexicon. They also support the view that the horse was not domesticated by the Indo-Europeans.

Thapar suggest that the Indo-Aryans were bilingual, and that all the Vedic agricultural terms were of non-Indo-European origin including *lan-gala* 'plough'.<sup>14</sup> Recent linguistic research makes it clear that even the Indo-Aryan terms for 'religion', 'magic', 'priest', 'deities' and even 'soma' are of non-Indo-Aryan or Indo-European origin.<sup>15</sup> David Anthony, in a "Comment" to the Lamberg-Karlovsky article on the origin of the Indo-Iranians, observed that the Indo-Iranian word for 'soma' plant *ancu* was borrowed from a non-Indo-European substrate language along with words for 'brick', 'ploughshare' and camel.

The Indic term for 'horse' may also be of Dravidian origin. Caldwell noted that in Sanskrit, the term for 'donkey' was *khara* 'ass', in Tamil we have *kaludei*. One of the Sanskrit terms for 'horse', according to Caldwell, is *ghota*; this corresponds to Ta. *kudirai* and *goram*. The Tamil term for 'horse' may come from *kudi* 'to lead'.

Levitt has presented convincing evidence that the Sanskrit term for 'horse' is of Dravidian origin. He illustrated that as a result of Dravidian

14. R. Thapar, *The Aryan Question Revisited*, Retrieved 12.29.2003 from <http://members.tripod.com/ascjnu/aryan.html>.

15. C.C. Lamberg-Karlovsky, "The Indo-Iranians", *Current Anthropology*, 43 (1), 2002, pp. 63-88.



euphonic combinations, the Sanskrit terms *kindhin*, *kundin*, *kilkin*, *kilvin* 'horse', are clearly derived from (DEDR 1711) Ta. *kutirai*, Ma. *kutira*, Tel. *gurramu*, Kol. *gurram* 'horse'.<sup>16</sup> It is important to remember that the *l* and *r*, and *d* and *t* are interchangeable in Dravidian languages. He noted that Dravidian *-k-*, *-v-* and *-nt-* are derivative suffixes that alternate in the Sanskrit forms of Dravidian loanwords as *-l-*, *-nd-* and *-v-*.<sup>17</sup> The Dravidian origin for the Sanskrit terms for 'horse' should not be too surprising considering the fact that the Indo-Iranian terms associated with 'horsemanship' and the 'horse' are related to Hurrian and Hattic terms. The Hurrian and Hattic speakers spoke languages related to the Dravidian group, since they were of Kushite origin.

The first wheeled vehicles probably came to Central Asia along with Dravidian and Manding speakers from Iran practicing a sedentary agro-pastoralist culture. These wheeled vehicles were first pulled by cattle as evidenced from toys found at selected sites in Central Asia and the Indus Valley. These bovinds pulled two- or four-wheeled wagons. This semi-mobile pastoralism by the Middle Bronze Age led to increased population levels in the steppe zone.

The Dravidians may have introduced the wagon, boat and plow / plough to Central Asia. The Tocharian A term, *o kukal* # 'chariot', 'wagon', has affinity to Dravidian rather than PIE *\*rotho* 'wheel', 'chariot'. Given below is the word genealogy for PIE 'wheel'.

Sanskrit	<i>ratha</i>	'chariot'
Sanskrit	<i>cakra</i>	'wheel'
Latin	<i>rota-</i>	id.
German	<i>rad</i>	id.
Tocharian A	<i>kukal</i>	'wagon'
Tocharian B	<i>kokale</i>	id.

16. S.H. Levitt, "Some New Dravidian Etymologies for Sanskrit Words", *International Journal of Dravidian Linguistics*, 32 (2), pp. 7-22.

17. Ibid., p. 9.

As you can see, \**rotho* 'wheel' is not closely related to Tocharian terms for 'wagon' but TB *o kukal* # is closely related to Dravidian. *kal* 'wagon'.

Tocharian B	<i>kokale</i>	'chariot', 'wagon'
Tocharian A	<i>kukal</i>	id.
Ta.	<i>kal</i>	id.
Kui.	<i>opka</i>	id.
Te.	<i>gali</i>	'wheel'
Kan.	<i>gali</i>	id.

In summary, the Dravidian-speaking people were familiar with horses since their former occupation of the Saharan highlands and the Sudan. As a result, the Dravidian- and African-speaking people share common names for the 'horse' and 'ass' / 'donkey'. It is also clear that these Dravidian-speaking people may have brought horses with them to the Indus Valley when they founded the Dilmun or Indus Valley civilization.

In addition, the linguistic evidence clearly suggests that the Mongolian, Tocharian and Indic terms for 'horse' are probably the result of a Dravidian influence. The term for 'horse' cannot be an Indo-European loan because of the close relationship between Sanskrit. *kundin* 'horse' and Tamil. *kutirai* 'horse' and the terms for 'ass' point to a Dravidian origin for Indo-Iranian words relating to 'horse', 'wagon', etc. The fact that the Dravidian terms are analogous to terms in Africa support the Dravidian origin of Asian terms for 'horse'. This is due to the fact that the Dravidian and African speakers, especially speakers of West African languages, have been separated for over 3000 years, yet they share analogous terms for 'horse', suggest that these terms for 'horse' must have been invented before speakers of these languages separated around 2000 - 2500 B.C. to find new homelands in West Africa and the Indus Valley. The linguistic evidence, discussed above, make it clear that cognate Dravidian and Sanskrit terms must be the result of an extensive Dravidian presence in North India, some 4500 or more years ago, long before the Indo-Aryans arrived in the area.



Notes & Discussions

RELATIVE CLAUSE IN TAMIL

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1. Relative clause constructions in Tamil are a development from paratactic structures. Consider the following examples which all mean 'Where did the boy go to who came yesterday?':

- (1) *ne:rru vanta paiyan enke: po:na:n?*
- (2) (a) *ne:rru oru paiyan vanta:n-e: anta-p paiyan (=avan) enke: po:na:n*  
(b) *ne:rru vanta:ne: oru paiyan, anta-p paiyan (=avan) enke: po:na:n*  
(c) *ne:rru vanta:ne: anta-p paiyan (=avan) enke: po:na:n*
- (3) *ne:rru enta-p paiyan vanta:n-o:, anta-p paiyan enke: po:na:n*

The forms *-e:* and *-o:* occurring after *vanta:n* in (2) and (3) are assignable the status of impersonal predicate markers in origin analogous to copula relativizer synchronically. The predicate markers *-e:* (< \*ay) and *-o:* (< \*av) under reference are identifiable as *Be* verbs. Examples in (2) and (3) are to be treated as instances of paratactic constructions. Examples of the type specified in (1) being syntactic in character might be considered to have developed from paratactic structures similar to the type noticed in (2), particularly the one in (c) by deleting the sentential boundary.

2. In German, the relative clause constructions are considered to have developed from paratactic constructions. Notice the following German examples from Talmy Givon (1979: 250 & 251).

- (4) Subject      *der Mann der kamm*  
                          the man who came  
                          'The man who came'
- (5) Accusative    *der Mann den ich schon lange keene*  
                          the man whom I already long knew  
                          'The man that I have long known'
- (6) Dative        *der Mann dem ich das Buch gegeben habe*  
                          the man to-whom I the book given have  
                          'The man to whom I gave the book'
- (7) Genitive      *der Mann dessen Frau mitkamm*  
                          the man whose wife with-came  
                          'The man whose wife came along'

Givon observes: 'The relative pronouns used in (24) (i.e. (4) - (7) in our deliberation above) are not the traditional WH pronouns used in relativization in many Indo-European languages. Rather, they are the demonstrative pronouns'. The relative clause constructions in German exemplified in (4) - (7) are therefore treated as syntacticized versions diachronically arising 'from a paratactic, topicalized pattern in which the demonstrative pronoun is in fact at a topicalized "(thematized) position"'. Consequently, the examples in (4)-(7) are diachronically interpretable as follows respectively:

- (8) *der Mann, der kamm* (subject)  
                  the man, he came
- (9) *der Mann, den Ich schon lange keene* (Accusative)  
                  the man, him I have long known



(10) *der Mann, dem ich das Buch gegeben habe* (Dative)

the man, to him I gave the book

(11) *der Mann, dessen Frau mitkam* (Genitive)

the man, his wife came along

3. There are instances in Tamil, the nominal modifier being Right-Dislocated. Right-dislocation itself is of two types, namely:

a) Right-dislocation of nominal modifier governed by Flip rule

b) Right-dislocation of nominal modifier governed by Extra-position rule

4. A Flip rule effects the dislocation of a constituent within the node, i.e.  $_x[A + B]_x \rightarrow _x[B + A]_x$ , where  $x$  is a node, and the constituent  $A$  is right-dislocated after the constituent  $B$ . Examples:

(12) *na:nku peNkaL vantanar*  $\rightarrow$  *peNkaL na:lvar vantanar*

(13) *unkaL mu:tta makaL enke: irukkira:L*  $\rightarrow$  *unkaL makaL mu:ttavaL enke: irukkira:L* (Common in spoken dialect)

(14) *ne:rru vanta (unkaL) paiyan enke: po:na:n*  $\rightarrow$  *(unkaL) paiyan nerru vantavan enke: po:na:n* (Common in spoken dialect)

5. An extra-position rule effects the dislocation of linguistic material over a variable, i.e.  $_z[_x[A + B]_x + _y[C]_y]_z \rightarrow _z[_x[B]_x + _y[C]_y + A]_z$ , where the constituent  $A$  is right-dislocated or extraposed rightward over the variable  $C$ . Examples:

English (15) The boy *who came yesterday* is there  $\rightarrow$  The boy is there who came yesterday.

- Hindi (16) ve lo:g jo zya:da: ca:y pi:te hāi, kam se so:te hāi → ve lo:g  
 'Those people who drink too much tea, sleep less.'  
 Kam se so:te hāi jo zya:da: ca:y pi:te hāi
- Tamil (17) nin tantai ta:y va:liyar nir-payanticino:re: (Puram 137) ← ni-  
 payanta nin tantai ta:y va:liyar
- (18) unkaL mu:tta makaL enke: irukkira:L → unkaL makaL  
 enke: irukkira:L mu:ttavaL (Acceptable but used rarely)
- (19) ne:rru vanta (unkaL) paiyan enke: po:na:n → unkaL paiyan  
 enke: po:na:n ne:rru vantavan

6. We come across several instances in Tamil moving rightward the nominal modifier by Flip rule. Notice the following examples:

- (20) avan ko:valu:r erinta:n-ai (← ko:valu:r erinta avan-ai) avar,  
 pa:Tiyatu (Puram 99)
- (21) mu:van paricil ni:TTitta:n-ai (← paricil ni:TTitta mu:van-ai)-p  
 peruntalai-c-ca:ttana:r pa:Tiyatu (Puram 209)
- (22) .... perun-ko:-p-peNTu ti:-p-pa:yva:L (← ti:-p-pa:yum  
 perun-ko:-p-peNTu) colliyat (Puram 246)
- (23) atiyama:n, tavamakan pirantavan-ai (← piranta tavamakan-ai)  
 kaNTa:n-ai ( tavamakan pirantavan-ai-k kaNTa atiyama:n-ai  
 avar pa:Tiyatu (Puram 100)

7. There are cases in Tamil where left-dislocated nominal modifier is personal in character.

- (24) avar veLima:n-ulai-c cenra:r-kku (→ veLiman-ulai-c-cenra  
 avar-kku) veLima:n tuñcuva:n tampiy-ai (→ tuñc-um  
 tampiy-ai)-p paricil koTu ena .... (Puram 162)



(25) a-p-polil va:lva:y (→ va:lum) ni:y-um a-t-tanmaiy-ai anre:  
(Ir<sub>ai</sub>-ya<sub>na</sub>:r AkapporuL [p. 190])

(26) i-k-kanaviya kuLiy-ai uTaiya:L i-p-polir-kaN uraiva:L  
(→ uraiy-um) oru teyva makaL-o: (Kur<sub>a</sub>L 1081,  
Parime:lalakar commentary)

Examples in (20) - (23) strongly suggest that left-located impersonal verbal adjectives are the alternants of right-dislocated personal nominal modifiers. This implies that verbal adjectives in Tamil are diachronically impersonal finite verbals. The left-located personal nominal modifiers in (24) - (26) provide clinching evidence to this effect.

8. Japanese verbal adjective is a case in point. The verbal predicate and verbal adjective are structurally identical in Japanese. Notice the following examples from Susumu Kuno (1976).

(27) (a) watakusi ga konu hon o *kaita* (p. 234)

I this book wrote

'I wrote this book.'

(b) Kore wa watakusi ga *kaita* hon desu (p. 234)

This I wrote book is

'This is a book that I have written.'

28 (a) o:zei no hito ga sono mura ni *kita* (p. 243)

many people the village to came

'Many people came to the village.'

(b) o:zei no hito ga *kita* mura

many people came village

'The village that many people came to'

The following examples are again from Susumu Kuno (1978).

29 (a) Taro: ga sono hon o *yonda*

T that book read

'Taroo read that book.'

(b) Taro: ga *yonda* hon

T read book

'The book that Taroo read'

It might be noticed that in all the Japanese examples verbal predicates figuring in (a) versions are quite identical in form with the verbal adjectives noticed in the relative clause constructions in (b) versions. This formal identity of a particular verbal construction occurring in two totally different syntactic contexts testifies that a verbal adjective need not be non-finite in character. Where there is a formal difference between verbal adjective and verbal predicate, the former is contextually restricted as a complementary variant of the latter. This will then be treated as a finite-verb diachronically.

9. In Ka:Nikka:ran dialect of Kanyakumari district, the past verbal predicates being impersonal in character are of *cey-t-e* type. The past verbal adjectives in Tamil as also in Malayalam, and the past verbal predicates of *cey-t-e* type of Ka:Nikka:ran dialect are to be treated as reflexes of an earlier type, reconstructible into \**cey-t-ai* type.

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**Notes & Discussions**

**JEWISH MALAYALAM FOLK SONGS: TEXT,  
DISCOURSE AND IDENTITY**

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The linguistic corpus labelled here as *Jewish Malayalam Folk Songs* (JMFS) has come under serious interdisciplinary investigation during the last few years. An international project with theoretical and methodological inputs from Anthropology, Linguistics, Folklore, Translation Studies, Performance Studies, Women Studies and Ethnomusicology is in progress. Scholars with specialization in Indology, Jewish Studies and Malayalam Studies are actively involved in this project of the Ben-Zvi Institute of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. A pioneering volume of about 50 songs is due to be published in Kerala. Translations in Hebrew and German also will appear. A larger volume of English translations is under preparation. The Jewish Music Research Centre of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem is producing a CD of JMFS.

**Jewish Women Songs**

This repertoire of JMFS is the possession of Malayalam-speaking Jewish women. At the time of the formation of the modern State of Israel and subsequent migration of Kerala Jews to Israel, Malayalam-speaking Jews numbered about 2,500. Today, Kerala Jews are known as Cochin Jews in the popular jargon of Israel and other parts of the world. They have been labelled also as Malabar Jews, White Jews and Black Jews. In intimate communications, members of this Kerala Jewish community do not prefer to use these terms to refer to themselves. They introduce themselves as *Pardesi Jews* (foreign Jews of Cochin), *Kadavumbhagam Jews* (Ernakulam / Cochin), *Thekkumbhagam Jews* (Ernakulam / Cochin), *Parur Jews*, *Chendamangalam Jews* or *Mala Jews*. The epithets in these names indicate place names / synagogue names. Black Jews and White Jews are discriminatory names popularized by foreign visitors and colonialists. In many western and

academic discourses, the focus has been on Pardesi White Jews, living in Cochin. Naturally, the knowledge about other Kerala Jewish communities is absent in many available writings. Pardesi community was always numerically small but they played an important role in the socioeconomic life of Cochin. Most of the visitors and researchers who come in search of the Jews of Kerala never cared to go beyond Cochin and meet other Jews. This type of partial reporting has distorted treatises on Kerala Jews. Today Kerala Jews, who trace their origin to different local communities of Kerala, reassert their identities in their new settlements in Israel. It is in this new context that we are examining JMFS.

American and Israeli anthropologists who conducted research studies in Kerala Jewish settlements in Israel identified JMFS as a unique valuable cultural possession of this community. Malayalam scholars have failed to notice and include JMFS in literary histories. Why have literary histories with descriptions of Christian and Muslim folk literatures failed to notice JMFS? The most probable reason could be Jews themselves did not consider these songs as literature. For them, primarily it was not an aesthetic object but a medium of religious communication, especially religious education. Jewish Women of Kerala transmitted religious knowledge through Malayalam songs. The contents of the songs in many cases are prayers, blessings, Biblical stories, translations of Hebrew hymns and local community knowledge. So they played an important role in fashioning their self-images as individuals and communities. But these songs as folklore were and are not stagnant. It is changing as part of the folklore process.

Today much of the Jewish folklore has gained the status of valuable lore that had been 'hidden from history' in the Malayalam world and Jewish world. The narrations of different Jewish communities are getting equal consideration in the academic field. Subjective experiences and imaginations are valued for their personal meanings of lived experience. The rediscovery of the JMFS is empowering women, especially older women, as valuable resource persons. Women's role in traditional knowledge systems has been revealed with their own interpretations of religious texts and life experiences.

### **Textual Dynamics and Discourse**

These songs transmitted from generation to generation orally also got recorded in women's notebooks. These notebooks recording JMFS (some of the notebooks are more than 150 years old) give them textual



status but the primary form of transmission remains oral. This is a very interesting situation of the interplay of orality and literacy though these songs are grounded in oral speech, writing has locked them into a visual ground. The term 'oral literature' itself has problems. Pure oral literature has been reduced to oral literature which may include both oral forms and those composed in writing and everything in between and the like. This may also be traced to part of the folklore process of JMFS.

Women performed these songs on various social occasions like circumcision, marriage, religious festivals, family gatherings, religious gatherings or social gatherings. The process of reconciling different textual and oral traditions at every performance (this being the primary condition for group performances like group songs and group dances) illuminates significant extra-linguistic features of JMFS. The term text has special significance in this context. Textual structure is important but textual dynamics as interpersonal communication in contexts has to be emphasized here. At the interface of oracy and literacy, the textuality of JMFS has to be analyzed. In this context, as Fowler (1986: 85) points out, "texts can be regarded as the medium of discourse". Fowler (1986: 80) explained the term discourse as follows.

### **Opaque Linguistic Substance**

"Discourse is the whole complicated process of linguistic interaction between people uttering and comprehending text. To study language as discourse requires, therefore, attention to facets of structure which relate to the participants in communication, the actions they perform through uttering texts, and the contexts within which discourse is conducted. All of these 'extra-linguistic' factors are systematically reflected in the structures of the sentences (and thus texts) which speakers utter; or, to put it the other way around, the form language has developed in response to its discourse functions so as to provide the means of expression for all personal actions, interpersonal relationships and connections with context that are mediated through discourse."

The process of consultation, decision-making, evolution of leadership and phonation of songs in Jewish women-groups are marked by a sense of equality and a motivation for aesthetic excellence in women's groups. The folk process of group-singing is facilitated in spite of different textual traditions supported by different notebooks. This prompts the researcher to assert that Jewish Malayalam women songs are true folk songs. The textual variations as attested by about thirty notebooks now available to researchers

also reassure the folkloristic nature of these songs. So JMFS has clear significance at the performance level. The meaning process at the textual / linguistic levels does not parallel the process of signification at the performance level. Practically, neither the singing group nor listeners are able to interpret satisfactorily the linguistic substance of these songs. So the task of the researcher, especially the one with the linguistic task of translation and interpretation, deserves collegial attention.

Here is the task of explaining the JMFS with a lot of opaque linguistic substance but with clear significance. The traditional grammarian will be tempted to label many linguistic forms of these songs as slang or corruption but the modern linguist who cares for communication as such cannot be satisfied with this labelling. One of the linguistic possibilities for the interpretation of JMFS is discourse analysis, as it enables the researcher to go beyond the limit of sentences. Lexical opacity and syntactic deviations are surpassed by discursive logic provided by structure and design of each song and sometimes by the genre of the song. The total collection of JMFS as one repertoire also exerts pressure on the signification process. So, to analyze and describe the signification of JMFS, the researcher can profitably depend on the theory and methodology of discourse analysis.

### **Discourse Analysis**

A major part of discourse analysis is identification of discourse models. Each discourse model must have significant discourse markers. The most visible elements of a discourse model are the discourse markers but the most decisive element of a discourse model is the particular discursive logic and the concluding statement. This facilitates the flow of communication in context. Three types of contexts can be identified: contexts of utterance, contexts of culture and contexts of reference. In the case of each item of JMFS, the researcher has to describe the folk, the speakers, the listeners, the location and the manner of performance. Some of the songs in the repertoire of JMFS are the special possessions of Pardesi Jews. Notebooks and oral history will help us to identify such songs. Certain songs are special to certain synagogue communities. Some songs are sung before guests belonging to different religions and groups. In short, each song has to be contextualized for meaningful analysis.

### **Origin Songs**

A group of songs attempts to trace the origin and rights of the Jewish community in Kerala. They are products of historical imagination marked



by the identity of places, persons, groups and the community. They are perspective constructs inflected by historical, social and political situations.

The diasporic community of Kerala Jews with cultural and linguistic activities, and different aspirations inform these songs. By borrowing an expression from Arjun Appadurai (1997: 297-300), we can speak of the ethnoscapescapes and ideoscapescapes of JMFS. The suffix-scapes indicate their inflected nature, perspective construction and fluidity. So the framing of the song or the design of the song is a crucial discourse marker. There are texts in JMFS in which folk songs transcend the world of everyday experience and construct context of reference or possible worlds on the basis of ideology. This is typical of literature, especially written literature. Most of the songs that can be categorized as wedding songs and Zionist songs belong to this group. In this type of songs, the lines between realistic and fictional landscapes are blurred. Many wedding songs in this repertoire speak of royal possessions and rituals, and Zionist songs of imagined Jerusalem. It will be interesting to note that historical wedding songs of Pardesi community have substantial shifts in the velocity of narration. This shift is the difference between event-time and narration-time. Portelli (1998: 66) explains this concept:

An informant may recount in a few words experiences which lasted a long time, or dwell at length on brief episodes. These oscillations are significant, though we cannot establish a general norm of interpretation: dwelling on an episode may be a way of stressing its importance but also a strategy to distract attention from other more delicate points. In all cases, there is a relationship between the velocity of the narrative and the meaning of the narrator.

Now let us focus on two versions of a parrot-song (*kilippāṭtu*) available in the repertoire.

### **Parrot Song: Parur**

*Here is milk and fruit - Ayyayya*

*Oh, parrot, I shall give them to you - Ayyayya*

*I shall pluck and give to you - Ayyayya*

*Oh parrot, I shall give to you - Ayyayya*

*Listen, there was a forest flowing with milk - Ayyayya*

*There birds were sitting high in a row - Ayyayya*

*There they dwelt, the five coloured parrots - Ayyayya*

*Birds in a golden cage - Ayyayya*

Those who saw them (their beauty?) rejoiced - Ayyayyu  
 They dwelt (to see them dwelling?) in a golden forest - Ayyayyu  
 Then the coming of the hunter was sighted - Ayyayyu  
 Then they were caught in a mighty net - Ayyayyu  
 They fell down struggling flapping in anguish (?) - Ayyayyu  
 The netted fell down. The freed flew away - Ayyayyu  
 Remembering, can one bear this thought? - Ayyayyu  
 Remembering, can one suffer this suffering? - Ayyayyu  
 Leaving the forest, they divided (separated) - Ayyayyu  
 According to their different types (groups?) - Ayyayyu  
 Ten parrots came together - Ayyayyu  
 Those who suffered the quarrel - Ayyayyu  
 Lost their feathers in the mutual pecking - Ayyayyu  
 The Pabar sea knew it - Ayyayyu  
 The short palm trees saw it - Ayyayyu  
 All the birds sat in a row - Ayyayyu  
 They saw the hunter coming - Ayyayyu  
 Fluttering they flew away - Ayyayyu  
 The shrubs in the forest saw it - Ayyayyu  
 All the parrots flew, carrying what they had plucked - Ayyayyu  
 Leaving the forest, they ended up at the sea - Ayyayyu  
 Those parrots were sitting high - Ayyayyu  
 Hearing this, one loses control - Ayyayyu

### Parrot Song: Kochi

Milk with fruit shall be given - Ayyayyu  
 To you lovely bird - Ayyayyu  
 The fruit from the branch - Ayyayyu  
 I shall pluck and I shall give to you - Ayyayyu  
 For telling some good news - Ayyayyu  
 I shall pluck and give to you, parrot - Ayyayyu  
 Like this at one time - Ayyayyu  
 The bird had just started flying - Ayyayyu  
 Seeing the bird as it was coming - Ayyayyu  
 A hunter came and interfered - Ayyayyu  
 The bird turned pale - Ayyayyu  
 Struck by the arrow of the hunter - Ayyayyu



*It fell down trembling - Ayyayya*

*See the affliction of the bird - Ayyayya*

*For the sake of the fruit from the branch - Ayyayya*

*Near the seashore of Palur - Ayyayya*

*It saw (type of?) trees - Ayyayya*

*The bird went and bathed - Ayyayya*

*Another high place - Ayyayya*

*Was found in which to perch - Ayyayya*

*A splendid green mansion - Ayyayya*

*An umbrella of fine stones - Ayyayya*

*There the bird flew and perched - Ayyayya*



[English Translations: Barbara Johnson & Scaria Zacharia]

### Pastness and PNG markers

A preliminary glance of the two versions in Malayalam brings out a few striking features. The most prominent linguistic marker is the abundance of Person-Number-Gender (PNG) markers in finite verbs. In one of the versions, there is consistent use of PNG forms. The second version also has abundance of it but not consistently. As a discourse marker, the consistent use of PNG markers in finite verbs all through these centuries signify the conscious attempt of the community to convey the pastness of the content and form. PNG markers are built into the story structure to ensure time-order. These poems in general have simple grammar and hence overlook subtle differences even in PNG markers and tense markers. The shift from first person to third person, from direct speech to indirect speech, from past tense to present or future, is common in JMFS.

### Discourse Markers

If the translator or interpreter gets entangled in these grammatical issues, he is likely to overlook the communication flow energized by discursive logic which is sometimes provided by non-grammatical elements. For example, in these songs under close scrutiny (*Kilippattu* versions), the invocation formula at the beginning is important. It is an invitation to a parrot to come and sing the song. Suddenly we enter the story of the migration of a bird / a group of birds. Specific places are mentioned. There are brief references to the landscape of regions through which it is passing. In one version, the bird began its journey from a forest, flowing with honey, and it was living in a cage of gold but it was hurt by a hunter. In its new settlement, the

hunter chases and wounds it. In some places, internal rivalries result in deprivation and dishonor, and subsequently it migrates to a place in the sea, may be an island. This version which consistently uses PNG markers carries the story of the fall. The other version ends in an optimistic note. It rejoices in the wealth and grandeur of the new-found land in the sea. Here, the discursive logic is different. It speaks of the story of the strenuous journey to the 'promised land'. It ends with a note suggesting their contentment with the state-of-the-affairs. Let me very briefly suggest here that these songs both transitively and intransitively communicate the story of the journey of Kerala Jews. But the name Jew is not mentioned anywhere in the linguistic corpus. Then how do emerge the unanimous conclusions that it is the story of the Jewish community in Kerala? The possibility at the linguistic level is opened up by the inconsistent use of the noun both in singular and plural. This again is a discourse marker that facilitates communication.

## Genre

Genre is a major organizer of textual components. It facilitates meaningful reading of texts by providing pre-understandings and expectations. Genre is a set of directions that in turn will be modified as part of the process of meaningful reading. The reading of each *Kilippattu* in Malayalam, for instance the Jewish Malayalam *Kilippattu* about the advent and sojourn of Jews in Kerala, will change, and redefine the genre *Kilippattu*. The structure and function of the genre may change synchronically and diachronically. Each item of the genre is the same and different. This polarity between similarity and difference in genre is worth observing and interpreting. The empirical and the ideal of the genre contrast and produce the sense of subgenres. The Jewish Malayalam *Kilippattu* has conventions specific to itself such as movement of the people across different lands and landscapes creating the paradigm of a minor exodus.

## Synagogue Songs

The synagogue songs form a special category in JMFS. In general, they describe the construction and striking features of different synagogues in Kerala. As we can see from oral traditions, archaeological monuments, remembered practices and suggestive references in the songs, the synagogue community was the basic unit of Kerala Jewish consciousness. Jews have vivid memories of eight synagogues: 1. *Cochin - Pardesi*, 2. *Cochin - Thekkumbhagam*, 3. *Cochin - Kadavumbhagam*, 4. *Ernakulam - Thekkumbhagam*, 5. *Ernakulam - Kadavumbhagam*, 6. *Panur*, 7. *Chendaman-galam* and 8. *Mala*.



JMFS include songs of all these synagogues except Ernakulam-Kadavumbhagam and Chendamangalam. Besides, there are songs about synagogues of Tirutur and Chirikantanagar. Tirutur was a synagogue built with the money of a rich Jewish family and it does not fall into the category of synagogues mentioned here. Chirikantanagar synagogue song may be assigned the status of a mythological construct and it cannot be discussed at par with other synagogue songs. In synagogue songs, by its very nature as literature, there is the fine blend of fact and imagination. The structure, design and semantics of these songs validate the suggestion that they were sung to express the individual identity of each synagogue and its community, within the larger network of Kerala Jewish community and Kerala society.

### **Common Sense of the Region**

Each typical synagogue song begins and ends with expression of a Jewish desire to have a place of prayer. They make it a demand when they are invited to stay in a place. Why are they invited to stay in different localities? The vivid explanation is found in the multilayered synagogue song of Mala. Mala synagogue song is longer, eventful and more complex. It employs many literary techniques like dramatic conversations and repetitions to maximize the impact on listeners. These are typical features of oral literature.

The Kodungallur ruler said:

"All the different peoples are in my country except for the Jews so ten of you should remain here"

"If ten of us remain here

first we must be helped with a synagogue"

"Go and choose a place you like"

The conversationalization of the narration without explicit mention of the speakers indicate the oral transmission. Such gaps are common in folk songs and they are filled up with non-segmental phonemes like tune, pitch, etc. and body language. The performing nature of the song is evident. Another possibility of filling up information gaps is generic communication. The genre of synagogue songs maintains the communication flow through 'common sense'. The demand of the Jews and the reaction of the local ruler are predictable in this genre. This common sense deserves special attention. Jews insist on maintaining their religious identity. The local community represented by the local ruler grants it as a privilege to have a religious 'other' in the country. This common sense is part of the local knowledge. Kerala, as

a region, has the tradition of multireligious life. Christianity in Kerala traces its origin to the visit of St. Thomas, one of the disciples of Jesus. Islamic heritage of Kerala goes back to the beginning of this religious group. The advent of Jews, Christians and Muslims is part of the history and folklore of Kerala. One of the major themes of folklore and history relating to these three distinct Semitic religions is that the local community welcomed these religionists and the local rulers provided them land and other facilities to build synagogues, churches and mosques.

### **Folk Religions and Civil Society**

Parallel to synagogue songs, traditional Thomas Christians of Kerala have church songs. They have similar structure and themes. Each church song invokes memories about the donations of local rulers for the building up of the Church. Historical memories about mosques are also abundant with such references. This memory maintained through the folklore of Kerala, has contributed a lot to the communal harmony of Kerala. Each locality has several folk stories and folk customs that reinforce this memory. In many cases, in spite of the Semitic religions also developed, folk practices have developed to such an extent that one can speak in terms of folk religions: folk Christianity, folk Islam or folk Judaism of Kerala. In folklore, there is a tendency to create genealogical relations among deities of different religions. Many folk practices also have developed in different parts of Kerala reconfirming these genealogical relationships.

Any offence against a place of worship is considered as bad at different levels. Let us consider one reference in the Mala song about the offence committed by the local ruler of Attangad. With the permission of the King of Kodungallur, Jews under the leadership of Yosef Rabban collected choicest wood from the forest for the construction of the synagogue.

‘They went to the mountain and felled the trees.

Returning with the woods, the Attangad Thampuran seized the wood.

Seizing the wood, he built a temple and the temple caught fire.’

According to the folk belief system of Kerala, the fire at the place of worship is a sign of divine displeasure. It is not a punishment inflicted on the temple from outside. The divinity of the temple itself does not tolerate such an act. The moral anger comes from inside. This belief system becomes more explicit in a reference in the Parur synagogue song. Parur



synagogue was very beautiful. The local community cherished it. Then came the Portuguese - the colonialists.

The Portuguese came and landed.

"Should the Jews have such a beautiful synagogue?"

Asking this, they fired a shot.

One of the bright lamps was broken off.

While they were running and entering the boat, the justice-loving boatman asked: "Do you realize what you have done?"

The members of this community,

How much did they work for such a place!

And how they brought together all the things required for it!"

Here, the country boatman, a representative of the ordinary folk, points out to the Portuguese the impropriety and offence committed. This imaginary scene in Parur synagogue songs represents the civil society of Kerala that get offended at the politicization of religion. Today, political parties, media and intellectuals are under heavy pressure from national and global forces to move out of the local practices. Still, Kerala society resists such forces of religious nationalism and global religious fundamentalism. One can discern tendencies to sanitize local religious communities from localisms and connect them to the global grid. In the name of religious purity, local identities are purged. The classical example is the synod of Diamper (1599) organized by the Portuguese to purge the Christians of 'heresies'. In the postcolonial world, the same forces are at work in different guises. Cultural and religious nationalism also plays a role in destabilizing the communal relation of regions like Kerala. A discerning student of the history of religions in Kerala can profitably identify the folk religious practices of the region that contribute to its socio-religious dynamics. A student of postcolonial studies can examine inter-relationship of world, nation and region in these narratives. In JMFS, there is a strong tendency to maintain religious space without erasing the boundary lines of the region distinguishing between genre and discourse models. This is not a question of theoretical importance but of practical implications in cross-cultural translation and interpretation.

## Other Categories

Any song in JMFS belonging to categories like Biblical songs, religious hymns or wedding songs can be subjected to discourse analysis.

Each song has its discursive logic and it is indicated through discourse markers. For example, the material culture represented in JMFS also facilitates discursive logic. Words denoting synagogue furniture, ornaments, bridal decorations, royal privileges and musical instruments represent semi-otically and semantically, the cultural pattern of the society. The vocabulary of JMFS can be divided into three groups: Dravidian (Malayalam and Tamil), Sanskrit and Hebrew. The majority of words in JMFS are of Dravidian origin. It includes certain words which are not attested in other literary models. The best example is *milca*, a typical Jewish Malayalam word denoting the typical Jewish concept of redemption. The redeemer is *milcakkaram*. JMFS contain many such typical Dravidian words to denote Jewish concepts. Most of the Jewish names for God are recreated using unique Dravidian compounds. This Dravidianness reminds us of the fact that the Jews were in Kerala even during pre-Malayalam period.

### Orality to Literacy

The effects of Sanskritization are also found in JMFS. In the transition from orality to literacy, as represented by the notebooks, there is a lot of linguistic anxiety. For example, the four-way division of stops in Malayalam creates a lot of confusion in the notebooks. The same word is written in several forms replacing voiced / voiceless aspirated / unaspirated stops. For example, several Biblical characters like Boaz and Joseph appear in writing in different forms.

### Hyphenation

There is a tendency to use unique words to denote typical Jewish religious objects and concepts. This shows Jewish religious consciousness that maintained its conceptual borders carefully. A large number of Hebrew words like *Torā* 'Bible Scroll' and typical Jewish concepts expressed through typical Malayalam words ensure the Jewishness of these songs. In short, we can say that JMFS maintain the balance between Malayalamness and Jewishness. This brings us to the conclusion that JMFS in general as a discourse leads us to the statement that Kerala Jews were active participants in the hyphenated society of Kerala. Hyphenated society works like a hyphenated compound. Hyphen maintains borders intact but it ensures that the components work together first like a single word. So is the working of a hyphenated society. We have the feeling that multiculturalism is best represented through this linguistic metaphor: hyphenated society. Thus, the notion of textuality of JMFS is identified with a social process or



textual production. This notion of textuality associated with the shift in the idea of language and literary work is linked to a transformation of the phenomenal existence of discourse. Critical linguistics and post-modern methods of interpretation again influence this.

In many other parts of the world, Jews living in diaspora developed special Jewish languages like Yiddish (Judeo German), Ladino (Judeo Spanish) and Judeo Arabic. This type of a linguistic hybridization and development of independent language did not take place in Kerala. JMFS testify to the presence of an independent Jewish literature in Malayalam but it does not prove the existence of a Jewish Malayalam language or dialect.

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## **TOLKĀPPIYA MŪLAM PADA VĒRPĀḌUGAL: ĀLNÖKKĀYVU (Ta.) (TEXTUAL VARIATION OF TOLKAPPIYAM)**

**K.M. Venkataramalah, S.V. Subramanian & P.V. Nagarajan (Eds.),  
1996, HB, Double Crown, pp. 460, Rs. 400/- (US\$ 50/-)**

This is a massive and accurate work which lists the variations in readings found in published works beginning from the 1847 palm-leaf manuscripts, especially from U.V. Saminatha Iyer's Manuscript Library, Chennai, from different interpretations found in the annotators beginning from *Ilampuranar* of 12th century A.D., *Teyvacilayār*, *Cēnavaraiyar*, *Pērāsiriyar*, *Naccinārkkiniyar* and modern commentators like Balasundaram and others. The reasons for preferring one or the other reading are listed in the footnotes which are detailed. A total number of sutra-s which vary from one ancient annotator to another is also listed. An appendix containing the index of the first words of the sutra-s is also given at the end.

## **TOLKĀPPIYAC COLLADAIVU (Ta.) (INDEX OF TOLKAPPIYAM)**

**P.V. Nagarajan & T. Vishnukumar (Eds.), 2000, Crown 1/4, pp. 371, Rs. 300/- (US\$ 60/-)**

This work is a continuation of the variorum edition of the same published in 1996. For each word, the occurrence, meaning and grammatical details are given. This work will be of much use to researchers on Tolkappiyam and grammatical treatises in Tamil.



**Review**

**INTERPRETATION OF PANINIAN TREATMENT OF SYNTAX. KARAKE.** Jag Deva Singh. 2001. Ohio: Panini Foundation.

Reviewed by

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The book under review is the first one in a series in interpreting Panini. The author, Dr. Jag Deva Singh, is currently involved in the Panini Foundation, a non-profit research organization based in Westerville, Ohio. He was Pro Vice Chancellor, Maharishi Dayananda University, Rohtak and Senior Research Fellow, International School of Dravidian Linguistics. Earlier, he taught Linguistics at Kurukshetra University and was Visiting Professor at Ohio State University.

Panini's *Astadhyayi*, also known as *Paniniyam*, is the earliest grammatical work available in any language in the whole world. It is a wonderful linguistic work looked at with awe and admiration by modern scholars in the field of the science of language. Carrying on a tradition which gave maximum attention to the preservation of the language in the present form as used by the native speakers of high standard, Panini adopted the Sutra method of stating the rules in the least number of syllables, *Alpaksaram*. Sanskrit language which was evolved from the Vedic language over a long period, probably a few thousands of years ago, was not easily vulnerable to the efforts of a man to subject it to a comprehensive grammar. Panini succeeded in his attempt by resorting to an artificial analysis whereby he subjected to his study the language materials collected as specimens from the parts of the country where Sanskrit was spoken in his time. Though the Vedic language ceased to be spoken long before Panini, it was still in use in

the daily chanting by the orthodox people. Along with the spoken language, *Bhasa*, Panini treated the Vedic dialects available to him.

A work on which the largest number of studies was made by modern researchers is probably the *Astādhyaya* of Panini. At an early age, when linguistic analysis was unknown in other parts of the world in India, Panini ventured to examine every linguistic aspect of the two varieties of the language, the Static Vedic language and the vibrant spoken speech. Jag Deva Singh rightly observes that Panini gives priority to spoken speech for his study. Panini did not offer any definition of speech: Singh explains it in the light of Panini's view of language as 'meaningful structured succession of articulate sounds intended for communication in human community'. Natural unit of speech, whether in soliloquy or in communication between two or more speakers is discourse. Panini seems to regard it as an appropriate unit of study, for the purpose of its analysis. Panini points basic units on the levels - speech sounds on formal level and nominal and verbal roots and affixes on the semantic level. Grammar is conceived by Panini as a mechanism to produce from their ultimate units various constructions. Singh has not referred to lexical, phonological and phonetic representations of either meaningful units or constructions produced from them. He is concerned with the syntactic relations in Sanskrit. In Panini's statements [Sutras], he defines six *Karakas* (usually translated as cases in English, for example: *Kartrkaraka* - subjective case) to describe the syntactic relationship of nominal stems. The name of the book under review is the head rule (I.iv.23) in *Astādhyayi* under which Panini gives the six *Karakas* beginning with *Apadana* and ending with *Kartr*. Singh states that the term *Karaka* is used in Panini as a technical term. He explains .... nominal stems co-occurring with verb stems as specified in these statements (I.iv.24-55) are *karakas*. Singh's endeavour is to figure out what the term *Karaka* signifies, a term not formally defined by Panini, to make clear why there are only six varieties of it: to explain why nominal stems are designated *Karaka*; to know how these are expressed linguistically; to understand what roles *Karaka* play in linguistic structures on various levels of linguistic organization; its determined place of *Karaka* in the overall design of language description; and to work out what analytical procedure Panini follows in determining the *Karaka* types.

Singh takes *Kartr* type of simplex constructions as unit of analysis. He assumes that syntactic relation obtains between nominal and verbal inflected forms. Syntactic relations, *Karaka* or non-*Karaka*, are not dependent



on verb inflection, but, on the other hand, any change in nominal *vibhakti* either extinguishes the relationship or alters its nature. Syntactic relationships are, therefore, sensitive to nominal affixes and not to verbal ones.

Ever since the days of *Mahabhasya* of Patanjali, the interpretation of Panini's statements was in conformity with it. Without Katyayana's *Vārttika* and Patanjali's celebrated commentary, the understanding of Panini has been held impossible. Patanjali has been considered the final authority in the interpretation of Panini, but Singh throws light on a dark area when he states that his study makes it crystal clear to him that Katyayana and Patanjali received no direct tradition for the study of Panini; and, in the absence of this, they seem to have fumbled with interpretation of Panini's structural statements and as a consequence of it, their treatment of *Karaka* fails to bring out the desired intent of Panini. For instance, Panini recognizes eight pairs of pragmatic and semantic features (I.iv.24-31) that characterize eight sets of co-occurring pairs where nominal bases being *Karaka*, denote *Apadana* (ablative case). Patanjali collapses all these into one and his attempt to explain away these sets as simple manifestations of Dhruva and Apiaaya is unrealistic linguistically.

Paninian traditions prior to Patanjali have been handed down in different parts of India, at least in Kerala, the present reviewer has ample reason to believe. When he was taught in the later tradition where Patanjali held the key, his curiosity was aroused because he understood that a lot of interpretations of Panini's Sūtras he learnt from his traditional teacher differed very much from *Mahabhasya* method. The author of *Karaka* did not get an opportunity to acquaint himself with such a tradition. As Singh understands, *Karaka* is anything that takes part in the actualisation of an action, but in the old tradition that was once prevalent in Kerala, as presumed by the present reviewer, *Karaka* is not a technical term as stated by Singh. It has only its structural meaning: *Karoti iti karakam*. Panini defined six specific *Karakas* and prescribed *Vibhaktis* for them. For all undefined *Karakas*, he gave the name *Karma* by *akathitam ca* (I.iv.51) to put it in *Dvitiya vibhakti*. This had to be restricted and the task was done by *Vṛttikāras* prior to Katyayana. Their views were codified by Katyayana in his *Vārttika* and accepted by Patanjali. As Singh says, no one can claim to have

interpreted Panini finally. The reviewer concurs with his view that study of Panini is a continuing process from generation to generation.

It is intriguing to find printing errors that evaded proof-reading in a book published in the United States of America. E.g. 'To felicitate (correct: 'to facilitate') reading of the expression .... these are placed after 1445 (p. 173)'. However, they do not reduce the value of the book. The points raised by the author can evoke interest in the minds of linguists and the students of Sanskrit grammar.

### **THE FUNDAMENTALS OF MANUSCRIPTOLOGY**

**P. Visalakshy, 2003, PB, Demy 1/8, pp. xiv+130, Rs. 150/- (US\$ 15/-)**

This book covers manuscriptology, writing material, scribe and writing language, and script, etc., with an year-conversion as an appendix. Dr. Laddu of Poona observes in his introduction: "compact introduction and presented in a simple language".

### **THE GRANTHA SCRIPT**

**P. Visalakshy, 2003, HB, Demy 1/4, pp. 320, Rs. 1,000/- (US\$ 100/-)**

This is a sumptuously produced volume tracing the Grantha script used to transcribe Sanskrit texts and later Malayalam and Tamil scripts in a worthy treatise to be possessed by scriptologists. In the foreword, Dr. N.P. Unni praises the work for its utility.

### **THE INTERNAL CONDITIONING OF PHONOLOGICAL SYSTEMS**

**André Martinet, 1996, HB, Demy 1/8, pp. 203, Rs. 290/- (US\$ 30/-)**

A collection of rare articles of Martinet, this book contains his papers on linguistic economy. Probably the only functional linguist, he has clearly stated the linguistic changes within the structuralist framework. His work will surely attract linguists interested in phonology and linguistic change.





**Short Review**

**THE INDO ARYAN LANGUAGES.** George Cardona & Dhanesh Jain (Eds.). 2003. London: Routledge Language Family Series, Routledge. Chapter 7: Hindi by Michael Shapiro.

Reviewed by

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If I am asked to review a chapter on Hindi language in a book of an encyclopaedic nature, I would prefer to start with some expectations even before I start reading it. There are specific linguistic problems or features pertaining to Hindi language. The language has as its background, a rich heritage of Sanskrit, but came under heavy influence of the Perso-Arabic tradition. The language shows its origin with Urdu and had to struggle in the last 150 years to have its presence felt. Its potential as a literary language was stunted due to the pre-eminence of Urdu through the last days of the Mughal dynasty up to the modern age under the British rule. Though modern Hindi is spoken and studied through the entire Hindi belt, it was only one of the many dialects of the area and some of the dialects had a hoary past. The problem of the identity of Hindi and other dialects still remains. It became the official language by the provisions of the Constitution in 1950 and its position of eminence is challenged by some Indian languages. I would expect the author of the chapter to delve on these points so that the introduction to the language becomes comprehensive.

Shapiro had only about 35 pages to accomplish this task. He has not only given a concise history of the language and a summary of the literary tradition of the language in the light of the works in the dialects, but he has

also talked of the pan-Indian nature of the use of the language and discussed its registral varieties. In addition, he has also discussed the varieties of Hindi in the Indian diaspora. He has covered all salient points in brief, in a comprehensive manner and the style is lucid.

The next part of the article pertains to the introduction of the language *per se*. It covers the script, phonology, morphology and syntax, lexicon and also a note on the discourse structure. It also contains a brief introduction to the historical developments of the language. In the presentation of the structure, Shapiro has not only attempted a scientific analysis of the language, but also has gone into the various problems discussed by the other scholars. For example, the problems of phonemic inventory due to internal developments and Perso-Arabic influence have been discussed in the light of the writings by other authors. Thus, he has based his study on extensive background research, as witnessed by the long list of references. Thus, the discussion of the grammar is not merely a reference manual but a survey of researches in Hindi linguistics.

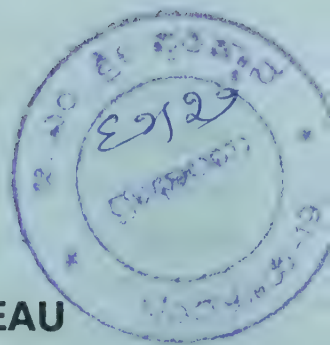
The article will be highly useful to scholars who are interested in knowing the language and will be an inspiring source to those involved in research in Hindi language and Linguistics.

### THE THEORIES OF TELUGU GRAMMAR

Bodduppalli Purushottam, 1996, HB, pp. 410, Rs. 500/- (US\$ 50/-)

This is a monograph of immense use to students of Dravidian linguistics in general and Telugu language in particular. The author has surveyed various theories of grammar from the early times to the present day. The work is a comprehensive account of the grammar of ancient and modern Telugu. This book has a subject index which may be of help to the student as a ready reckoner. Neatly printed and beautifully bound, the volume will be a prized possession to lovers of grammar and linguistics.





**Report**

**A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF M.B. EMENEAU**

Compiled by

**B. RAMAKRISHNA REDDY & K. NAGAMMA REDDY**

**I. Professor Murray B. Emeneau: A profile\***

Murray Barnson Emeneau was born on February 28, 1904, in Lunenburg, Nova Scotia, Canada. Soon after graduating with distinction from Dalhousie University, Halifax, in 1923, he was named a Rhodes Scholar and entered Balliol College, Oxford, where he earned a second bachelor's degree in 1926 (and was awarded the M.A. degree in 1935). From 1926 to 1931 he studied linguistics and anthropology; under the guidance of Franklin Edgerton, E.H. Sturtevant, and Edward Sapir at Yale University, specializing in Sanskrit, Latin, and Greek and serving as an instructor in Latin. After receiving his Ph.D. degree in 1931, he remained at Yale studying linguistics with Sapir and doing research. He spent 1935-38 in the Nilgiris area of Southern India doing fieldwork among the Todas, Kotas, and Kodagu, and in central India, where he studied the Kolams. After his return he taught linguistics and carried on his research work at Yale, after which, in 1940, he joined the University of California, Berkeley, as Assistant Professor of Sanskrit and General Linguistics. For five years beginning in 1953 he served as Founder-Chairman of that University's Department of Linguistics. During this period he was instrumental in laying the foundation for the Survey of California Indian Languages, now a leading program in the field. Since his retirement in 1971 he has continued his association with the University as Professor Emeritus of Sanskrit and General Linguistics.

Emeneau has had a distinguished academic career. He was President of the Linguistic Society of America in 1949, and served the American

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\* Based on the details as in **Language and Linguistic Area**.

Oriental Society as editor of its journal (1948-51), as President (1954-55), and\*as President of its Western Branch (1964-65). He was awarded Guggenheim Fellowships in 1949-50 and 1956-57, and has been elected to membership in American Philosophical Society (1952) and the American Academy of Arts and Sciences (1970). He has been named an Honorary Fellow of the Royal Asiatic Society (1969), and as an honorary member of Phi Beta Kappa and Sigma XI (1963), the Linguistic Society of India (1964) and the Linguistic Research Group of Pakistan (1971). He has been a Vice-President of the International Association for Tamil Studies since 1966. He has received honorary degrees from the University of Chicago (1968) and Dalhousie University (1970), the Wilbur Lucius Cross Medal of Yale Graduate School (1969), and citations from the University of California, Berkeley (1971), and the Linguistic Society of India (1978).

Emeneau's interest in Sanskrit dates back to his collaboration with Maurice Bloomfield and Franklin Edgerton on the third volume of the *Vedic Variants* (1931-32). His dissertation, *Jambhaladatta's Version of the Vetālapañcavimsati*, a critical edition and translation of the classic collection of short stories, was published in 1934. A year later he published his *Union List of Printed Indic Texts and Translations in American Libraries*, which remains to this date a valuable bibliographical aid to Sanskrit studies. In 1952 he published *Sanskrit Sandhi and Exercises*, a useful text for students and scholars of Sanskrit morphophonemics for descriptive and historical purpose. Among his other notable contributions to Sanskrit language and literature are *The Sinduvāra Tree in Sanskrit Literature* (1944) and *The Strangling Figs in Sanskrit Literature* (1949). Perhaps the best known of his Sanskrit works is *Kalidasa's Abhijña-Śakuntala* (1962), a brilliant translation of a classic Indian play into contemporary American English that is especially notable for faithfully conveying the shifts in different levels of Sanskrit usage.

The first major publication resulting from Emeneau's extensive collections of Indian linguistic materials and oral texts, the four-part *Kota Texts* (1944-46), was widely recognized as a model of linguistic and socio-cultural description. Zellig S. Harris welcomed this work in *Language* as an excellent linguistic analysis of a culturally isolated member of the Dravidian language family: Clyde Kluckhohn saluted it as another fine product of the brilliant group of young scholars associated with Sapir; and the work was



widely recognized for its insightful contribution to our understanding of the historical processes of culture and contact and diffusion among languages of different stocks. Twenty-five years later, Emeneau's *Toda Songs* (1971) completed this phase of his work, integration of theoretical and methodological insights from linguistics, folklore, ethnology, and related disciplines in studying the cultural heritage of a people notable for their distinctive poetical style.

Emeneau's second major work in the field of Dravidian linguistics, *Kolami, a Dravidian Language* (1955), helped to establish Kolami, as spoken in the Maharashtra region of India, as an independent Dravidian language and impressively analysed its affinities with other languages and dialects in that region. F.B.J. Kuiper, among others, welcomed the book as the most important contribution to Dravidology in recent times, and it did in fact give rise to a new era of comparative Dravidian studies. But the work for which Emeneau may well be remembered longest is his *Dravidian Etymological Dictionary* (1961), co-authored with Professor Thomas Burrow of Oxford University. This pioneering work presents comprehensive vocabularies covering some five thousand groups of etymologically relatable words from nineteen Dravidian languages and almost as many Indo-Aryan languages, totalling about 33,000 Dravidian words. A 1968 *Supplement* updated the work by incorporating materials from previously unreported languages such as Pengo and Manda, as well as new materials made available on literary languages like Telugu. A completely revised edition of the *Dictionary* is published in 1984 (DEDR).

*Toda grammar and texts* (The American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, 1984) is a product of the sustained interest of the fertile and original thinking of M.B. Emeneau, which came out after nearly four decades of his fieldwork and cognition of the language. Apart from introduction and indexes, the volume contains two main parts: Part-I Grammar and Part-II Texts with translation and commentary. Part I deals with phonology (vowels, consonants, voiceless - voiced, accent, intonation, structure of words, morphophonemic rules, rules relating to slow speech and fast speech), syntax (SOV order, finite forms, embedding, subordination, verbal nouns, equational predications, quotative, focus shifting, questions and co-ordination), noun morphology, pronouns, numerals, adjectives, verb morphology, adverbs, particles, expressives and interjections. Under part II, a

theme-wise classification of the texts is given as - mythology, dairy rituals, clans and moieties, funeral practices, miscellaneous ceremonies, love and marriage, ridicule, stories about Todas relation with other communities, and folktales. In all there are 194 texts containing a treasure of information on language, culture and society. The linguist-cum-anthropologist-cum-Indologist in Emeneau are apparent throughout this *magnum opus*. Emeneau's research has always been exemplary for practitioners in the field. The methodology of the present work exploring the theoretical linguistic nuances on the basis of reliable data and its application in the description of a non-literary language will stand as a model to be emulated by students and scholars not only in the area of tribal language research but on the analysis and description of any natural language.

Perhaps the most fruitful concept developed in Emeneau's groundbreaking work in Dravidian and Indo-Aryan comparative studies is that of a "linguistic area," defined by Emeneau as an area wherein languages belonging to two or more families have traits in common that do not belong to the other members of at least one of the families. Borrowing the term from H.V. Velten's 1943 usage in his translation of the German term *Sprachbund*, as used in 1931 by Nikolaj Trubetzkoy and Roman Jakobson, Emeneau brought together related concepts developed by Jules Bloch and other European linguists to frame the definition first set forth in his classic article "India as a Linguistic Area" (1956). Since then he has been adding new theoretical and methodological dimensions to the concept in a series of research reports (many of them included in this volume) on linguistic and sociolinguistic phenomena found across dialects, languages, and language families in South Asia. Throughout this work he has been particularly sensitive to the historical facts and sociolinguistic issues behind questions of phonological, morphological, syntactic, and semantic development. The effect of this comprehensive approach to understanding the processes of language and culture contact has been to add a new dimension to our awareness of the historical independence of world society.

A cursory glance at the long list of his publications would show the wide range of subjects in which Professor Emeneau has been interested and has distinguished himself, viz., classics, linguistics, anthropology, folklore, textual criticism, and many languages and literatures.



His many publications on Dravidian subjects include: *Dravidian Linguistics, Ethnology and Folktales* (1967), *Kota Texts* (1944-46), *Kolami: A Dravidian Language* (1955), *Toda Songs* (1971), *Toda Grammar and Texts* (1984), *Language and Linguistic Area* (1980); and with T. Burrow, Professor of Sanskrit, Oxford University, *A Dravidian Etymologist Dictionary* (1961), *Supplement*, 1968, *2nd edition revised* (1984), and *Dravidian Borrowings from Indo-Aryan* (1962). The details of other publication of Emeneau are given in next section.

## II. M.B. Emeneau's Publications

### Abbreviations used

AA	American Anthropologist
AUDLP	Annamalai University, Department of <i>Linguistics</i> Publications
BSOAS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London
DLEF	Dravidian Linguistics, Ethnology and Folktales: Collected Papers by M.B. Emeneau (1967a)
DS	Dravidian Studies: Selected Papers by M.B. Emeneau (1994)
IJJ	Indo-Iranian Journal
IJDL	International Journal of Dravidian Linguistics
IL	Indian Linguistics
JAF	Journal of American Folklore
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society
JAS	Journal of Asian Studies
LLA	Language and Linguistic Area: Essays by M.B. Emeneau (1980a)
LEW	Literature: East and West
Lg.	Language
PAPS	Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society
UCPCP	University of California Publications in Classical Philology
UCPL	University of California Publications in Linguistics

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  - d. "An echo-word motif in Dravidian folk-tales". *JAOS* 58. 553-70. [Reprinted in DLEF, pp. 357-70.]
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- b. "Toda menstruation practices". *A Volume of Eastern and Indian Studies Presented to Prof. F.W. Thomas on his 72nd Birthday*, Eds. S.M. Katre & P.K. Gode, pp. 82-84. Bombay: Karnatak Publishing House (for New Indian Antiquary). [Reprinted in DLEF, pp. 318-20.]
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